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THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS.
VOLUME I, INFORMAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT SCHOOLS.
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FROM AN ANALYSIS OF OVER 2,000 RECONSTRUCTED CONVERSATIONS HELD BY 50 ADULTS IN EACH OF FIVE SCHOOL DISTRICTS, QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE DATA WERE OBTAINED TO MEASURE FLOWS OF INFORMATION AND INFLUENCE FROM THE SCHOOL TO THE COMMUNITY FOR OBTAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT. THE STUDY ATTEMPTED TO DESCRIBE (1) PERSONS WHO TALK ABOUT SCHOOLS, (2) THE KINDS OF PERSONS WHO ENGAGE IN DIFFERENT AMOUNTS AND KINDS OF CONVERSATION, (3) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FLOWS OF INFORMATION AND INFLUENCE, (4) THE DIFFERENT WAYS PEOPLE CARRY ON CONVERSATIONS, AND (5) NETWORKS OF INFORMAL COMMUNICATION THAT EXIST IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. EACH RESPONDENT WAS SCORED FOR CONVERSATION SCOPE, INITIATIVE, DIRECTION, INFLUENCE, CONDUCT, AND CONTENT. TWO RESPONDENT INTEREST ORIENTATIONS, AS PARENT AND AS CITIZEN, ACCOUNTED FOR MUCH OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COMMUNICATORS AND NONCOMMUNICATORS. CORRELATED WITH THESE ORIENTATIONS WERE DEMOGRAPHIC, PARTICIPATORY, AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS FOR EACH RESPONDENT. TWO-THIRDS OF THE INFORMAL COMMUNICATORS WERE FOUND TO BE SCHOOL PARENTS, ONE-SIXTH SCHOOL PEOPLE, AND ONE-SIXTH OTHERS (PRESCHOOL PARENTS, PRIVATE SCHOOL PARENTS, POSTSCHOOL PARENTS, AND NONPARENTS). BOTH INFORMATION AND INFLUENCE FLOWS APPEARED TO BE THE SUM OF NUMEROUS INFORMAL SOCIAL ENCOUNTERS, WITH NO COHERENT STRUCTURE OF COMMUNICATION CHANNELS. RELEVANCE WAS DETERMINED AS THE ONE COMMUNICATION PRINCIPLE INHERENT IN SUCCESSFUL INFLUENCE. THIS IS PART I OF A SERIES. RELATED DOCUMENTS INCLUDE EA 001 092, EA 001 093, EA 001 094, AND EA 001 095. (JK)

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THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Informal Communication About Schools

By
Richard F. Carter, Bradley S. Greenberg, and Alvin Haimson

VOLUME I

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The Structure and Process of School-Community Relations

VOLUME I

Informal Communication about Schools

by

Richard F. Carter, Bradley S. Greenberg, and Alvin Haimson

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Preface

That we have been able to gather and process a sizeable body of data bearing on informal communication about schools is the direct result of helpful counsel and devoted workers.

Those who have counseled us are: Wilbur Schramm, Nathan Maccoby, H. Thomas James, William Strand, Chilton R. Bush, and many colleagues whose contributions have improved our work but whose names went unrecorded.

Our research assistants were: Ray Sweigert, Lee Ruggels, Douglas Fuchs, Robert Ellis, Anthony Scantlen, and Maxwell E. McCombs. Their efforts have added much to the completion of this study.

An innumerable staff aided our work. We should like to acknowledge the secretarial work of Joan Reynertson, Linda Miller, Gracie Barron, Gay Quarles, Cynthia Stabb, Brenda Cook, and Helen Nash.

Lastly, we would like to thank Dr. William R. Odell for his administrative guidance of the project under which we undertook this study.

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Chapter I

Introduction

That much of communication about schools is informal is obvious in the accepted, general sense. Conversations abound that fit the dictionary definition of "not in the usual, conventional, prescribed, or customary forms or rules; irregular; hence, without ceremony; as an informal writing, proceeding, or visit." School-related topics come up frequently in casual conversation--not unexpectedly, considering the importance of education in our society.[1]

But communication about schools is also informal in two very specific senses. What people say about schools is generally outside the formal decision making process. The only formal role most people have is that of reviewing school policy in the context of a school election. Their role in the initiation of school policy is the tenuous connection afforded by what heed is paid "public opinion." In addition, what people say about schools is not a disciplined examination of educational values. The content of the conversations, like the conduct, is casual and idiosyncratic.

To introduce this study of informal communication about schools, we shall show how these aspects of informality affect our point of view in gathering and analyzing our data

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[1] A Gallup poll recently found that education was considered the most important domestic problem needing attention of ten listed (San Francisco Chronicle, June 27, 1965).

Informality of policy determination

When it became necessary for school districts to abandon the town meeting as the formal setting for policy determination, several alternatives emerged. In some districts, educational policy became the stepchild of local government agencies. Any change in policy was determined by a city, county, or state agency. More commonly, however, a pattern of differentiation in formal roles occurred. Representatives were elected to formulate policy. They possessed both initiative and review powers. However an ultimate review was reserved to the people, who were to vote for the representatives and in many instances on the financial support for any policies initiated by their representatives.

It is this latter pattern of policy determination that is our context for this study of informal communication. Its outstanding characteristic is the dilemma posed in the ultimate review by the people of educational policy.

Given only an occasional opportunity to review educational policy, the people have often frustrated the initiation of policies by their elected representatives. Given the power to say "no" to financial issues (bond issues, tax levies, and budgets), the people have shown little reluctance in voting "no" for many reasons--only some of which were ostensibly at issue. Financial elections are often the battleground of past issues.

So far this is more a problem than a dilemma. The dilemma arises when the school officials attempt to tailor their policy to meet public opinion. Such attempts are often the outcome of such review failures.

Apprehension of election results leads school officials to look for ways to bring the people into the process of initiation.

Public opinion thus often becomes a blind tyrant of policy determination. Failure to win a financial election is taken to be evidence that there has been inadequate communication with the public. Public opinion is said to be uninformed. And school officials look around for indicators of public opinion so they can plan the next election more successfully. They are also attracted to anyone or anything that can affect public opinion.

With a choice to make between searching out indicators of public opinion and means for affecting public opinion, most school leaders would take the second. The first tends to continue the dilemma, serving only to give warning that an issue will or will not pass the review. Then, too, the second is presumed to have some of the benefits of the first anyway. We generally expect any effective influence on public opinion to be predicated on knowledge of it.

Of the ways in which school leaders have turned for help in recent years, four stand out. These are: citizens' committees, the "power structure," the "opinion leaders," and increased participation. About all they have in common is that they are all presumed to be keys to the mobilization of public opinion for the support of public education.

The number of citizens' committees has increased rapidly in the last two decades. Typically, such committees are temporary, with a membership representative of community interest groups, given impetus by school officials, and designed to secure public support for financial issues. A study by Kenny[2] has shown the lack of their effectiveness in winning support.

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[2] Donald F. Kenny, A Functional Analysis of Citizens' Committees During Financial Elections. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, 1962.

In a national study of school districts that had held two financial elections of the same type (e.g., bond or tax), Kenny ascertained whether the district had a citizens' committee for one or both elections, and the result of the elections. He found no relationship between success in an election and the presence of a citizens' committee. Further, he found that districts that had lost the first election of the two and had then tried a citizens' committee for the second election did no better than districts that did not try a citizens' committee for the second election.

An examination of the areas in which citizens' committees were effective showed that they tended to increase turnout by their communicatory activity--the use of telephone, postcards, and personal contacts. Turnout, however, has been found to be negatively related to success. Carter and Savard report that districts with less turnout have better success records.[3] Kenny was studying some of the same elections and found the same result for elections where citizens' committees were active.

Citizens' committees are usually formed to achieve what school officials have not been able to achieve: financial support of the educational program. That they do not succeed when the board of education has been unable to succeed is not surprising. At best they are an extension of the principle of representation personified in the board of education. They can succeed only to the extent that they change public opinion. And this is no easier for a citizens' committee than for the board itself.

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[3] Richard F. Carter and William G. Savard, Influence of Voter Turnout on School Bond and Tax Elections. Cooperative Research Monograph No. 5, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C., 1961.

When citizens' committees are observed to be successful, it is through their ability to alter the opinions of important persons in the community--the power structure or opinion leaders.

There is a similarity between opinion leaders and the members of the power structure. They influence people. But they influence people in different ways. The opinion leader exerts influence because of his particular attribute of authority, prestige, or expertness. An opinion leader in one area may not exert influence in another area. However, the member of the power structure has more general capabilitites. His influence extends to any area relevant to the community.

There is another important difference between the opinion leaders and the power structure. The opinion leader is influential in changing opinions in a way that is amicable to the initiation function in policy determination. The member of the power structure often is not.

The power structure is influential because it possesses the ability to affect the values of those in the community who want something--something that those in power can offer. What is wanted may be a reward of some kind; it may be freedom from a sanction. Early observations on which this concept is based were made in communities where the power to sanction was paramount, where the elite could injure those who went against its views.[4] The concept has been often generalized since to cover the ability of the elite to reward as well.

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[4] Truman M. Pierce, Edward C. Merrill, Jr., Craig Wilson, and Ralph B. Kimbrough, Community Leadership for Public Education. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1955.

In an analysis of political influence, Banfield[5] demonstrates that those elected to authority must conserve the exercise of power, for to use it is to expend it. That is, if the power held by an elite is exhaustible, its use must be avoided. The power to reward is clearly exhaustible.

School officials find the power structure members useful in assessing the potential acceptance of educational policy. But when they try to bring the elite into initiation of policy, school leadership finds that elite does not want to exert its power to change values. The elite wants the people--i.e., public opinion--to prevail, to make any decision. It only wants to be on the winning side. It does not want to exercise any capability it may possess to reward one group of citizens and not another.

The concept of opinion leader reflects the democracy's concern with the flow of information from those vested with responsibility to those who must ultimately decide on policy. Somehow ideas and assessments of social values must be disseminated throughout the public. Early expectations that the mass media would perform this function have been tempered by more recent observation that for many social issues, the source of information--and influence--was personal contact.[6]

The notion that there is a flow of information and influence follows in part from these observations. The opinion leader gets ideas from exposure to the media and transmits them to others around him. The opinion leader has more exposure to the media than other citizens, but yet he has many of the same characteristics as the people he conveys information to and influences.

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[5] Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1961.

[6] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice. Columbia University Press, New York, 1948.

A considerable literature has now been built up to document the person-to-person nature of much that contributes to public opinion.[7] Thus any investigation of informal communication about schools needs to focus on conversations about schools.

The opinion leader is by necessity a communication leader as well. There is a question, however, whether there are some persons who are communication leaders but not opinion leaders. The identification of the opinion leader and communication leader should be useful to educational leadership. Communication problems of dissemination and feedback of information may be solved with better knowledge of these persons who act as relays--or even transformers.

Actually, the opinion leader concept itself has not had much of an impact on school communication behavior. The observation from which it derives, that much of influence is personal, has had the real impact. Election campaigning for school finances often has the mark of organized political canvassing. Personal contact is sought with the potential voter.

What was presented by the social scientist as an explanation for how people were affected by the media indirectly, through opinion leaders, was interpreted by many school officials as a signal to seek more direct access to the public, and to public opinion. Katz and Lazarsfeld said they were reasserting the importance of personal contact in the flow of information and influence.[8] But they kept personal contact in the context of dissemination from the media to the public. School leaders have overlooked the elaboration of the process of dissemination in favor of establishing increased participation by the public through personal contact.

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[7] Summaries of this literature are found in: Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955; Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations. Free Press, New York, 1962; Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1954; and Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings. Harcourt, Brace & World, New York, 1964.

The presumed power of personal contact is great indeed. We are never quite satisifed that justice has been done without a personal confrontation of accuser and accused, without an opportunity for the accused to speak out on his own behalf. We are never more pleased with a man than to know that his handshake is as good as his signature on a contract. We are never more sure of public opinion than when we have heard it said in our presence--if only by a few.

Increased participation is viewed as a significant means of improving public opinion because of the assumption that an informed public will understand the problems of schools better--and review proffered policies accordingly. Reinstatement of direct democracy is, of course, impossible. So the approach to increased participation has been the improvement of direct communication with the public--once the public has been encouraged to enter the discussion of school problems.

Improving communications takes many forms. The simplest tactic is merely to increase the output of information about the schools. Its corollary is to increase the attention that school personnel pay to the public. How this or any other tactic works is contingent upon the relationship between the interested citizen and the schools.

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[8] Katz and Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 25 f.

On the basis of previous research on this relationship, we can characterize it as a consumer relationship.[9]

This consumer is often a parent. He--or she--evaluates the school in terms of its products. The professional educator may see himself performing a service, but the public views this performance in terms of the pupil's ability to meet the criteria for a successful educational product. The educator may judge his success on the average accomplishment of his pupils, given their capabilities. He sees that children as a whole are much better educated than pupils in the past. But the public sees success in individual achievement. And, if that individual achievement is measured in relation to other pupils' achievement, an increase in the average is invisible.

It might seem necessary to qualify this picture somewhat for the person who has no children in or out of school, but with an interest in public education. Yet the consumer relationship is prevalent even among these persons. In viewing the needs of local schools, they see the product in comparison to nearby districts. With a more cosmopolitan view, they see certain groups of pupils who have obvious needs--such as the gifted, the underprivileged, or the retarded. Or, they may see that society has need for citizens with special skills, such as scientists or mathematicians.

School officials have learned to speak a language of supply and demand. It is standard practice to specify what the public is getting for its money, to specify which interest groups will be served by various

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[9] This characterization is based on data reported in: Richard F. Carter, Voters and Their Schools. Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1960.

proposals. The same relationship is to be noted at the national level, as certain segments of the educational program receive support because of visible interest in particular educational products.

The consumer relationship introduces several problems for improved communication with the public, and for its participation in the initiation of policy.

Basic to the consumer orientation is the public's recognition that education can improve one's status in a competitive society, or the position of one's society in a competitive world. As we noted earlier, this implies that public interest centers on those school problems where the specific product of interest resides. This makes mass communication all the more difficult to utilize. Personal communication sensitive to these interests, particularly from someone who "knows" the objects of concern, is indicated.

The consumer sees school policy determination as involving investments over which he has little control. He is buying "futures," giving support for a product which will not be finished for years--when it will be impossible to recover the investment. He may have an unsatisfactory educational experience of his own to look back on in considering his vote. Personal communication may calm his anxieties as well as furnishing him with information.

Although the schools have adopted personal contact as a means for increasing participation in school affairs, they have been able to do so only for relatively brief periods. The expenditure of resources necessary is prohibitive for continuing contact. So the contacts are made when the public must review policy in elections.[10]

The success of this procedure, when it occurs, stems from the temporary arousal of values for the educational product and of fears that the value of the product may be diminished through failure to approve the policy.

There is still no effective means for bringing the public into the initiation of policy on a continuing basis. Personal contact is not a feasible method. The answer must lie in a better understanding of the way in which the public is now informally involved in policy determination. Then, perhaps, a new procedure may be evolved for inclusion on a more formal basis.

To make intelligent use of this aspect of informality--the informality of policy determination--we must know something of person-to-person conversation. We need to know its scope in topics and contacts, its content of fact and opinion, its direction to and from the schools, its purposes of informing and influencing, and its genesis in the giving and receiving behaviors of its participants.

Informality of content

To explain what we mean by the informality of content in conversations about schools, we shall have to consider what would be formal. In a formal discussion of educational values, it would be necessary for the participants to achieve coorientation. That is, they would need to have the same things in mind. Their orientations must coincide to some degree.

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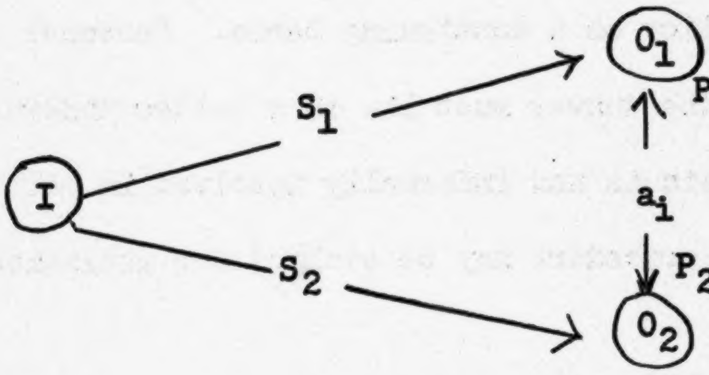
[10] Some effort has been made to use parent-teacher conferences as a means for continued personal contact. A study by Grant indicated that the only effect on parental attitudes came in the area of opinions of administration--and this only with the use of structured conferences by what he judged the better teachers in the district. Robert Grant, The Effectiveness of Structured Parent-Teacher Conferences on Parental Attitudes Towards Schools. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, 1962.

The degree necessary is specified by Carter[11] in an analysis of the "complete communication" by an individual, (I), of his own orientation. He defines the minimal orientation situation as consisting of the following:



Where: O_1 and O_2 are two objects from the environment that are situationally relevant--say, two bond issue alternatives;

A_1 is an attribute which makes the objects pertinent to each other--say, cost of the two alternatives;

P_1 and P_2 represent the extent to which the objects possess the attribute (their relative pertinences)--say, relative cost;

S_1 and S_2 represent the perceived value of the objects irrespective of the pertinence relation (their relative saliences)--say, the previous experiences with the alternatives.

For complete communication of this orientation situation, the individual must report all seven of these elements. In addition he may report a discrimination between the objects on the given attribute (e.g., O_1 cost more) and/or an intended behavior toward one of the objects (e.g., I'm going to vote for O_2).

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[11] Richard F. Carter, "Communication and Affective Relations." Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Spring, 1965), pp. 203-212.

Coorientation, as defined by Carter, implies that the two individuals will report their respective orientation situations to each other in sufficient detail that they may arrive at a mutual discrimination. At a minimum, this entails report of the two objects and the attribute on which object values are to be assigned. It also necessitates such reporting behavior prior to the discrimination being made.

That neither of these conditions is typical of conversations about schools is obvious. They are typical only of the most formal analyses. More typical are reports that give the discrimination, already made, along with some information about the orientation situation. For example: "I like O_2 better than O_1," or, more simply, "I like O_2." Even if both objects and the attribute are given in the report of the discrimination already made, the other conversant may suspect hidden motives--i.e., unreported saliences.

Generally, then, we can say that conversations about schools are very informal with regard to content. Coorientation is lacking. This state of affairs has implications for the determination of policy and for our study.

Without coorientation, much of the content of public opinion can be expected to be irrelevant to a given policy issue. From the observer's point of view, what is being talked about has little to do with the given issue. But this does not mean that the issue has no relevance at all to the public.

Coleman[12] has pointed out that conflict is aroused when people are drawn into a controversy because they perceive an issue to be relevant to their interests--even though an impartial observer might think otherwise. To an anxious consumer, any issue can quickly become relevant to the quality of the product.

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[12] James S. Coleman, Community Conflict. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.

School officials can not enforce relevance of content arbitrarily. But it can be encouraged and sanctions imposed on violators.[13] Furthermore, our study of informal communication can yield information on the persons in the community who serve as links between different interest groups, who may bring people to an issue that is not (objectively speaking) relevant to them.

With coorientation lacking, conversations have the appearance of a crossfire of opinions and information. The acquisition of information or values depends largely on the nature of the conversants, their needs determining the likelihood of acceptance, the number of their conversations affecting the frequency of acceptance.

What we think we know about informal communication processes illustrates this tendency:

1. Informal communication tends to occur among persons who are physically or psychologically close to each other. Physical distance is a good predictor of who talks to whom in a neighborhood.[14] Similarities of background and interests are good predictors of who talks to whom in groups, even in such primary groups as the family.[15]

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[13] The role of relevance as the "first principle" of communication has been discussed by Carter: Richard F. Carter, "Three Problem Areas in School Communications." California Elementary Administrator, Vol. 28, No. 3 (February, 1964), pp. 13-16. In the concluding chapter we shall have more to say on the subject of relevance.

[14] Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1963 (Reissue).

[15] Carter, Voters and Their Schools. See Chapter V.

2. The ability of one person to influence another person seems to be related to the psychological closeness of the two persons.[16] The opportunity for a person not to pay attention to those with whom he has no common interests, or to refuse credibility to those he does not know or who do not know him, makes it difficult for influence to occur outside personal channels.

3. Influence occurring from personal communication is mostly a reinforcing of already held opinions.[17] The persons talking together are likely to agree on most topics to begin with, so they afford mutual reinforcement.

4. Most people acquire information or new values because it is useful to them to do so. They have to accommodate themselves to an environment, or, they have to find support for their accommodation of an environment to themselves.[18]

Objectives of the study

Our two purposes are to identify communicators and to describe the process of informal communication. To implement these purposes we have set out the objectives which follow. In stating these objectives, we can outline the course this monograph takes.

Our first objective was to locate the persons who engage in any informal communication about schools outside their own household (Chapter II). To locate communicators, we have taken as a frame of reference two orientations toward schools as primary "locators." These are the parent orientation and the citizen orientation.

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[16] Katz and Lazarsfeld, op. cit.; Rogers, op. cit.; and Berelson and Steiner, op. cit. furnish surveys of such findings.

[17] Katz and Lazarsfeld, op. cit., and Festinger, Schachter, and Back, op. cit. The reinforcement function is considered paramount in any influence by the mass media. See Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.

[18] In the latter regard, see: Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. Row, Peterson, Evanston, Illinois, 1957.

These orientations reflect the consumer interests held by the public. The parent orientation is straightforward. The citizen orientation represents the interest taken in societal affairs, as exemplified in organizational memberships. As such it resembles the variable of "gregariousness" studied by Katz and Lazarsfeld in relation to influence.[19]

Our second objective was to describe the amounts of various conversational behaviors of public school parents and school people--the groups which comprise most of the informal communicators (Chapters III-VII). Aspects of conversational scope, initiative, direction, and influence are examined. The use of the parent and citizen orientations is continued for the public school parent group.

Here the analytic focus alternates between identification of communicators of various types and elaboration of the informal communication process. We pursue the latter through comparisons of the communication behaviors of various groups of public school parents, and of school people and parents. For example, we examine the relationship between information exposure and influence for differing levels of parent and citizen orientation.

Our third objective was to describe the relationships among aspects of informal communication behavior. Our results (in Chapter VIII) shed light on such questions as these:

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[19] Katz and Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 227. They also include a measure of communicatory activity with organizational membership.

1. Is influence more likely to occur in conversations between persons similar in their relationship to the schools, or in conversations between persons of dissimilar relationships? For example, does a parent have more influence on another parent than on a nonparent?

2. Is influence more likely to occur when the influential conversant has more scope of informal communication? When the influential has sought out his conversant? When the influential has been sought out by his conversant?

3. Are there communication leaders who are not opinion leaders?

4. Is there a communication leader who relays both between persons of dissimilar relationship to the schools and persons of similar relationship, or is there one kind of communication leader for one relay function and another kind of communication leader for the other relay function?

5. Is there a general factor of communication leadership that subsumes influence activity?

Our fourth objective was to look at the conduct of informal communication _within_ conversations. We have looked at the give and take of conversations (Chapter IX) and the nature of the content itself--whether it contains that which is verifiable and whether it contains that which is attributed to another source (Chapter X).

The analyses, made for the several levels of parent and citizen orientation among parents, and for school people, lend verification to earlier results and continue the elaboration of the informal communication process.

Our fifth objective was to describe the characteristics of nets of informal communication (Chapter XI). We have measured their size, distribution, differences in nets within a given district, the nature of early communicators, location of conversations, relationship of conversants, reasons for conversations starting, and sources of information exposure.

Some of these analyses show differences between conversations about forthcoming financial elections and nonelection conversations. Others show differences in network conversations as the time of election approached.

How we went about gathering the data for this study is reported in the next section.

Gathering the data

The focus in the pioneering studies of informal communication has been on influence, not communication. To be sure, these studies have postulated that influence is transmitted by communication processes; but the purposes have commonly been to see how people change or form new opinions in important social areas. Social issues and adoption of new products or practices have been the subjects of investigation.

Perhaps the major question raised by the previous studies is whether we know the process of information flow when we know the process of influence--or vice versa. We recognize that communication seems a logical necessity for influence flow, but would hardly argue the reverse. Thus a clear separation in data gathering procedures for communication variables and influence variables seemed desirable.

In reviewing the previous studies it appeared to us that the best way to keep communication and influence separate, and the best way to assess influence, brought us to the same conclusion: we should try to get people to reconstruct their conversations about school matters. We could then codify both communication and influence behaviors ourselves.

This procedure also furnished another appealing result. We would have a measure of the degree of influence for each person. Previous studies have often distinguished only between influentials and noninfluentials in one way or another. We should be able to base some of our analyses on the extent of influence exerted by each respondent.

With this general approach decided, the remaining problems were the procedures for exhausting a net within a district and which districts to choose. Pre-testing solved both problems. We found that two things characterized informal communication nets:

1. The nets were often large, covering the whole district and extending outside the district; yet,

2. Whole blocks of residents within a district would not report a single conversation with someone outside the home concerning the schools during the preceding week.

Our original plan had been to sample blocks in communities of varied characteristics, interviewing everyone in the block designated and then everyone with whom they had conversed, and so on. These two pretest results suggested a different approach.

We would start with samples of 50 households in each community. From these samples we would expect to get into the district's nets from one or more points and then be able to follow its channels. We would have the advantage of being able to compare communicators and noncommunicators in these original samples. Inferences based on these differences would be better than those based on block clusters of citizens.

Districts were chosen to maximize the differences in the characteristics that could be related to the process of informal communication itself. For example, amount of communicatory behavior is known to vary with educational level and socioeconomic status. Our decision was also based on minimizing any extraneous factors, such as the impact of a state educational issue on some but not all communities while we were interviewing. Still, we did want to view the nets at a high water mark. Our solution was to select districts that were about to have a local financial election, and to interview there in the days prior to the election. We hoped to find the nets tuned locally and active.

Table 1.1 shows the wide variation in district characteristics. The districts range from a small agriculturally based district, low on socioeconomic characteristics (District B), to a moderately large district with light industry, high on socioeconomic characteristics (District D).

The school district boundary lines were used to define the population to be studied. The letters assigned to the districts as symbols indicate the order in which the interviewing proceeded. The district boundary lines set the limit, geographically, for our interviewing. We went outside these limits only to interview school personnel who worked within the district but lived outside. We studied just their communicatory behavior within the district.

In each district a probability sample of 50 households was selected from current telephone listings. All persons 21 or over in the households were to be interviewed. Pretests in three non-sample districts had indicated that between a fourth and a third of the respondents would have communicated with someone outside the household about school matters in the previous seven days. The pretests had also indicated that this would be sufficient to get us into the major channels of the district network.

Table 1.2 shows selected characteristics of original sample members by district. The educational data reflect the census data for the districts reported in Table 1.1. The recorded data on total communicatory behavior for the original samples are consistent with the expected positive relation-

Table 1. 1 Characteristics of Sample Districts

District	Location	Type of Election(s)	District Population*	Median Schooling*	Median Personal Income*	Principal Sources of Income
A	Northern California	Tax	26, 000	13. 0 yrs.	$8, 500	Light Industry Small Retailers
B	Central California	Bond (2) Tax	13, 000	10. 2 yrs.	$5, 700	Agricultural Services
C	Southern California	Bond	55, 000	12. 1 yrs.	$7, 400	Light, Medium Industry
D	Northern California	Bond	52, 000	13. 9 yrs.	$9, 100	Light Industry, Retail Business
E	Washington	Tax	180, 000	12. 1 yrs.	$6, 000	Medium Industry

* Source: 1960 Census data.

Table 1.2 Selected Characteristics of Original Sample Members, by District

District	Average Level of Education	Proportion with Child in Public School	Number of Children	Proportion Female	Average Length of Residence in District	Proportion with Recent Conversation about Schools
A	14 2	29%	1.6	59%	8.2 yrs.	44%
B	12.1	29%	1.3	60%	9.7 yrs.	36%
C	11.5	49%	2.1	60%	18.6 yrs.	27%
D	14.5	35%	1.6	54%	9.7 yrs.	37%
E	11.9	40%	2.1	66%	18.9 yrs.	49%

ship between amount of communication and socioeconomic level.

Our general procedure was to interview members of the original samples, starting about ten days prior to the local election, inquiring about school-related conversations during the past seven days. Co-conversants of communicators in the original samples were then interviewed, and any new referrals from this group were followed up, and so on. This snowballing technique continued until the network petered out, or until the election halted our work. Those interviewed from the designated sample households are termed the "original sample" in this report; those later interviewed as co-conversants are termed "referrals."

The field work in District A was conducted in Spring, 1962; in Districts B and C in Fall, 1962; and in Districts D and E in Winter, 1963. In all, 468 original sample members and 849 referrals were interviewed in the five districts. These represent 85% and 74% completion rates for designated sample members, respectively. Table 1.3 gives the breakdowns by district.

Table 1.3 Interview Completion Rates, by District.

	Original sample:		Referrals:	
District	Eligible for interview	Percent interviewed	Eligible for interview	Percent interviewed
A	110	85%	182	75%
B	124	89%	210	80%
C	112	84%	199	70%
D	112	82%	308	74%
E	92	85%	254	70%

We employed experienced interviewers, providing additional training in conversation reconstruction. Interviewers were supervised in the field by a study director, who checked interviewers at least once daily for assignments and performance.

Each interview began with a few questions about the respondent's background and family (see Appendix A for the interview form), then the interviewer asked the respondent about any conversations relevant to schools held in the last seven days (eight days on the second day of interviewing, nine days on the third day, etc.). A specific probe was used to indicate that the question included conversations with spouse or children. With referrals, the interviewer often had to probe for a known conversation--the one which brought us to the referral. The tendency was to recall the more recent conversations when no specific probe was offered. With aided recall, 95% of the conversations were verified by the interviewed referrals.

Callbacks were continued until the district interviewing terminated, one day prior to the election. The field supervisor directed callback procedures and arranged interviewer substitutions if an interview could be obtained only at a time when the first assigned interviewer was unavailable.

Analysis of the data

The largest part of the data reported is subjected to multivariate analysis. For the most part, this kind of analysis views the variance in a criterion variable (i.e., some informal communication behavior), in relation to three other variables--frequently called "locator" variables. Two of these locator variables are the parent and citizen orientations. The third, or "test" variable, changes from table to table.

The criterion variables are the various aspects of informal communication behavior. Coding procedures related to these aspects are reported in the appropriate chapters where the variables are introduced conceptually and operationally defined.

The test variables fall into three categories: demographic characteristics (sex, age, education, number of children, and length of residence); participatory characteristics (direct participation, efficacy, information exposure, interest in local affairs, interest in nonlocal affairs, and voting likelihood); and, attitudinal characteristics (evaluation of local schools, pride in local schools, voting preference, and perceived economic conditions).

Those test variables for which indexes were constructed are reported in Appendix B, where scale criteria for unidimensionality are given. Source citations are also given in Appendix B.

Generally, test variables have been dichotomized in these analyses. The "high" condition of the test variable is taken to be that condition which is positively related to the first criterion variable--any communication about local schools (Chapter II). Several trichotomies have been presented, to show curvilinearity in the relationships.

There are a great number of inferences that can be drawn from tables with three locator variables. We have abstracted those that seemed important for the text of Chapters II-VII and IX-X. For Chapters II-VII, we had to design a formal process of abstraction in order to sort out the more important inferences. The reader who wishes to follow the course of this analysis, by referring to appropriate tables as he reads the text, should read Appendix C before turning to Chapter II.

The format is to examine the relationships of the orientations to the criterion variable, then to introduce test variables to look for interactive effects, independent effects of the test variables, and optimum conditions for the effectiveness of one or two locator variables.

The analytic role taken by the two orientations varies according to the objective at hand.

In studying the difference between communicators and noncommunicators (Chapter II), the orientations play a predictive role because they are very highly related to communicatory activity per se. The emphasis there is on identifying communicators, so the relative predictive power of these locators gives them a primary part in the analysis.

In studying the differences in various aspects of informal communication (Chapters III-VI), the orientations play two roles: the identification of significant parent subgroups among which behaviors may vary; and, the control of possible artifactual relationships between test variables and the criterion variables.[20]

Test variables are viewed in the context of the orientations because they may appear to have a relationship with a criterion variable, but have it only because of their relationship to one of the orientations. For example, an apparent relationship between age and total conversations might disappear if the relationship between age and parent orientation is considered.

The utility of this form of control can be shown in the following possible set of relations: information exposure is related to influence success; parent orientation is related to influence success; information exposure is related to parent orientation. If information exposure is not related to influence success at both levels of parent orientation, then the inference that influence success is more frequent among those who are more to information sources (e.g., the mass media) must be modified if it holds only for one level of parent orientation, or set aside if it holds for neither level of parent orientation.

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[20] Rogers points out that the attributes of opinion leadership are probably highly interrelated, and that each needs study when the effect of the others can be controlled (op. cit., p. 251). Controlling for the level of the orientations has the effect of removing the common "participation" factor in the various attributes.

In studying the differences in communication behavior within the conversations (Chapters IX-X), the orientations have the role of locating significant subgroups of parents. Within conversations, gross participation behaviors should not be an important factor. Orientations, therefore, need not be employed as controls.

As the analysis shifts from the difference between communicators and noncommunicators to the differences in various aspects of informal communication, the definitions of the orientations are altered. In the second analysis, all are communicators. Stricter differentiation in the levels of orientation is then needed.

During the course of the analyses, reference will be made to several kinds of relationships between locator variables with regard to a criterion variable. These are:

1. "Independent relationships"--when a locator variable accounts for some variance in the criterion whatever the condition of another locator variable.

2. "Contingent relationship"--when a locator variable accounts for some variance in the criterion only in the high condition of the other locator variable.

3. "Functional equivalence"--when a locator variable accounts for some variance in the criterion only in the low condition of the other locator variable.

4. "Artifact"--when a locator variable accounts for no variance in the criterion in either condition of the other locator variable, but

is related to the other locator variable (which does account for some variance in the criterion).

5. "Converse relationship"--when the effect of one locator variable on another locator variable's relationship with the criterion is the same as the latter's effect on the former's relationship with the criterion. This is a frequent consequence of the type of analysis we have employed.

Chapter II

Who Talks About the Schools?

Out of the 468 persons interviewed in the original sample, some 39% had at least one conversation with someone about the local schools in the period prior to being interviewed. This conversation was not with someone from the same household.

If we knew nothing more about these persons than the fact that they reside within the school district and had a listed telephone number--or lived in a household where someone had a listed number--we would have about two chances in five of locating someone who talks about the local schools. Our objective in this chapter is to improve that predictive ability, to better locate the communicators.

We stated in our introduction that the parent and citizen orientations would be the major "locators" for our analysis. These two variables reflect the frame of reference from which we view behavior related to the schools.

Both orientations have been dichotomized. The "high parent" orientation consists of parents with a child in public school or with a child of pre-school age. The gross communicatory activity of these two kinds of parents is quite similar. The same similarity occurs in the "low parent" orientation groups--nonparents and parents of postschool children only.

The citizen orientation is defined by membership in nonschool organizations. We have considered this as evidence that the person has used participation to implement his values. As with the parent orientation, there is an attempt on our part to find some measure which shows commitment on the part of the individual. The "high citizen" orientation consists of persons with membership in at least one nonschool organization.

Table 2.1 shows how many original sample members meet these criteria of high parent and high citizen orientation (i.e., 209 and 249, respectively).[1] We also see that both orientations, as defined here, account for variance in the criterion variable: whether the person had a conversation about the schools recently. The parent orientation accounts for 35%; the citizen orientation accounts for 19%.

Table 2.1 Communicators by Parent Orientation and by Citizen Orientation*

Orientation	Per Cent Communicators
Parent orientation:	
High (N=209)	53%
Low (N=215)	18%
Citizen orientation:	
High (N=249)	43%
Low (N=175)	24%

*Communicators are persons from the original samples in five districts who had at least one conversation about the schools during the seven days previous to being interviewed. Orientation definitions are given in the text.

We could have obtained larger differences by defining the orientations differently. But this would have two drawbacks. The definitions we used are highly "visible;" that is, they are indeed good locators. They also divide the sample roughly into half, giving maximum discrimination.

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[1] Eleven school people and 33 private school parents are not included in this analysis.

If we were to define, say, the citizen orientation, so that only about one in ten was of high citizen orientation, then we would pay too much of a price to obtain a greater proportion of variance accounted for.

Table 2.2 shows that the joint effect of the two orientations is greater than either alone. Reference to the numbers of persons in each of the four conditions shows a good adjunct to this increased predictive power. The two orientations are unrelated, maintaining maximum discrimination.

Table 2.2 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation.

Joint orientation	Per cent communicators
High parent, high citizen (N=122)	67%
High parent, low citizen (N=87)	39%
Low parent, high citizen (N=127)	24%
Low parent, low citizen (N=88)	9%

The *locating of communicators about schools* has now improved substantially. From a beginning figure of two in five we have advanced to a figure of two in three. Knowing only that a person is high on the two orientations, we would be right two-thirds of the time in locating communicators.

We can now examine the other inferences available to us from Table 2.2, using percentage differences for criterion variance accounted for--as described in Appendix C.

The parent orientation and citizen orientation jointly account for 58% of the variance.

The parent orientation accounts for more variance under the high citizen condition than under the low citizen condition (43% versus 30%).

And, conversely, the citizen orientation accounts for more variance under the high parent condition (28% versus 15%).

We conclude that the two orientations enhance each other. They are not merely functional equivalents, for then they each would show more effect in the low condition of the other. Possibly, in line with our emphasis on an obvious commitment, they distinguish degrees of commitment. And together they represent more commitment than either separately. At least we can suggest that interpretation with respect to informal communication about schools.

We turn now to an examination of the three variable situation, where a third variable is added to the orientations in viewing informal communicatory activity. These test variables are introduced in three sections: demographic variables, participatory variables, and attitudinal variables.

Demography

Characteristics such as sex, age, education, number of children, and length of residence in the community are expected to relate to communicatory behavior because roles associated with these characteristics affect the likelihood of communicatory behavior. Thus, for instance, the female is expected in our society to take a more active part in school affairs than the male.[2] And time spent performing one activity may be lost to another, so that informal communicatory behavior may be thwarted by roles which keep one apart from other people.

These demographic characteristics are also related to the two orientations, some by definition--e.g., one needs a child to be a parent, and some by functional relationship--e.g., the more educated generally participate more. These relationships are reported in Table 2.3.

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[2] Voters and Their Schools, p. 154f.

Table 2.3 Demographic Characteristics of Original Sample Members by Parent-Citizen Orientation.*

	Joint orientation:							
Demographic characteristic	Low parent, low citizen		Low parent, high citizen		High parent, low citizen		High parent, high citizen	
Sex:								
Male	47%	(41)	37%	(47)	40%	(35)	43%	(52)
Female	53%	(47)	63%	(81)	60%	(52)	57%	(70)
	100%	(88)	100%	(128)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)
Age:								
50 yrs. +	68%	(59)	73%	(93)	21%	(18)	11%	(14)
40-49	10%	(10)	9%	(12)	24%	(20)	50%	(61)
20-39	22%	(19)	18%	(23)	55%	(47)	39%	(47)
	100%	(87)	100%	(128)	100%	(85)	100%	(122)
Education:								
High school or less	70%	(61)	52%	(67)	67%	(58)	41%	(48)
Some college +	30%	(26)	48%	(61)	33%	(29)	59%	(70)
	100%	(87)	100%	(128)	100%	(87)	100%	(118)
No. of children:								
None	54%	(47)	48%	(61)	**		**	
One	19%	(17)	17%	(21)	36%	(31)	21%	(26)
Two +	27%	(24)	35%	(45)	64%	(56)	79%	(96)
	100%	(88)	100%	(127)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)
Length of residence in community:								
Nine yrs. or less	44%	(35)	41%	(52)	48%	(42)	48%	(59)
10 yrs. +	56%	(49)	59%	(75)	52%	(45)	52%	(63)
	100%	(88)	100%	(127)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)

*Frequency distributions are given in parentheses following the percentages. These frequencies are the bases to which the percentages in Tables 2.4 through 2.8 are computed.

**By definition of parent orientation, the "high" level specifies at least one child.

Age has the highest relationship with the parent orientation, followed by number of children. In the latter case, the dichotomization is between one child or less and two children or more. If it were between no children and one or more, the order would be different. For then, by our definition, the relationship is constrained.

Education has the highest relationship with the citizen orientation. Number of children also shows some relationship to this orientation. Persons with more children are more likely to be of high citizen orientation.

In general, if a demographic characteristic is related to one or both of the orientations, we would expect it to add less to the location of communicators. Its relationship to communicatory behavior would tend to be expressed through the orientations. We know that communicatory activity is in part related to age because age is related to parent orientation (which is related to communicatory activity). However, this artifact in no way restricts the usefulness of demographic characteristics in elaborating the relationship between the orientations and communication behavior.

Tables 2.4 through 2.8 give the results for the three variable analyses of communicatory activity--where the two orientation variables are joined by each of the demographic characteristics in turn.

The average difference of 35% which the parent orientation makes in the criterion variable is increased to 47% among those of high citizen orientation who are either long-time residents of the community or who have two or more children.

The 19% difference which the citizen orientation makes in the criterion variable increases to 36% among those of high parent orientation who have fewer children.

Of the demographic variables, sex has the highest independent relationship with the criterion variable, averaging about 16%; it is followed by age and length of residence.

The relationship of sex to communicatory activity is greatest in the high parent, low citizen group, where it shows a difference of 22%. Age in the high parent, high citizen condition produces a difference of 20%, as does number of children in the high parent, low citizen condition.

Those of higher education provide the optimum condition for the joint effect of the two orientations on the criterion variable. There is a difference of 11% in the joint effect of the orientations between levels of education.

Taking only the parent orientation and a test variable, sex and parent orientation provide the most differentiation in communicatory activity, averaging about 50%. Age and length of residence each combine with parent orientation to give differentiation of communicatory activity, averaging about 45% and 44% respectively.

The joint effect of parent orientation and a test variable depends in part on the condition of the citizen orientation. Sex and parent orientation as well as education and parent orientation combine more effectively to account for communicatory activity in the high citizen condition.

Viewing only citizen orientation and test variables in relationship to communicatory activity, sex combines with citizen orientation to account for about 35% of the variance. Length of residence and age are somewhat less helpful as adjuncts to the citizen orientation. With citizen orientation, they average 27% and 28% respectively.

The combination of citizen orientation and any demographic variable in accounting for communicatory activity is found to be more effective in the high parent orientation, particularly when citizen orientation is combined with number of children.

Parent and citizen orientations jointly accounted for 58% of the criterion variance. Adding in the contribution of a test variable, we find that the joint effect of length of residence and the two orientations is 70% of the variance accounted for. Age, in combination with the orientations, yields 67% of the variance accounted for.

We observed that each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other. In several instances, the test variable interacts with this tendency to produce optimum conditions for the interactive effect of the orientations. Thus, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other among younger persons, those who are long-time residents of the community, and males.

Holding citizen orientation constant, for each demographic variable the parent orientation has more effect on the criterion variable in that condition of the test variable which is itself most highly related to the criterion variable, i.e., the high condition. This is particularly so with number of children, where the effect of the parent orientation on communicatory activity is greater among those with more children.

The converses also hold. For example, females are more likely than males to be communicators in the high parent condition, in comparison to the low parent condition. The interaction is strongest for number of children. Having more children is more highly related to communicatory activity when the parent orientation is high.

Although the parent orientation usually has more effect on the criterion variable in the high condition of the test variable, there are several instances in which this relationship does not hold. Among those of low citizen orientation, the parent orientation has more effect in the low conditions of age and length of residence (among older persons and short-time residents). In the high citizen condition the parent orientation is again more effective in the high condition of the test variable.

Holding parent orientation constant, the effect of the citizen orientation on communicatory activity varies according to the level of education and the number of children. Citizen orientation has more effect among those of higher education and among those with fewer children.

Among those of high parent orientation, the citizen orientation has more effect among the young and those of long-time residence; among those of low parent orientation, the citizen orientation has more effect among the old and those of short-time residence.

We have an interesting point about the conditions under which the parent and citizen orientations relate to informal communication activity. More education enhances the effect of both orientations, parent and citizen. But while the condition of having two or more children enhances the effect of the parent orientation, the effect of the citizen orientation is enhanced by the condition of having one child or less.

Table 2.4 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Sex.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	Males	Females
High parent, high citizen	54%	69%
High parent, low citizen	26%	48%
Low parent, high citizen	13%	31%
Low parent, low citizen	5%	13%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.3.

Table 2.5 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Age.*

	Per cent communicators among:		
Joint orientation	50+	40-49	20-39
High parent, high citizen	50%	59%	70%
High parent, low citizen	39%	30%	45%
Low parent, high citizen	23%	33%	26%
Low parent, low citizen	3%	22%	21%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.3.

Table 2.6 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Education.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	High school graduates or less	Some college or more
High parent, high citizen	58%	67%
High parent, low citizen	38%	41%
Low parent, high citizen	19%	30%
Low parent, low citizen	10%	8%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.3.

Table 2.7 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Number of Children.*

	Per cent communicators among:		
Joint orientation	No children	One child	Two or more
High parent, high citizen	**	62%	63%
High parent, low citizen	**	26%	46%
Low parent, high citizen	28%	33%	16%
Low parent, low citizen	11%	6%	8%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.3.

**By definition, the "high parent" orientation includes only persons with a child (in public school or of pre-school age).

Table 2.8 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Length of Residence in the Community.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	0-9 yrs.	10 yrs. +
High parent, high citizen	54%	70%
High parent, low citizen	36%	42%
Low parent, high citizen	25%	23%
Low parent, low citizen	0%	16%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.3.

Participatory characteristics

We usually expect a person who converses about some object to have other characteristics which evidence his attention to that object. Thus direct participation in school matters and voting in school elections are overt manifestations of interest. We also asked respondents about their interest in local and nonlocal educational matters [illegible] homogeneous indexes to measure these interests (See Appendix B). We found out their exposures to public sources of information about schools, expecting this to be related to communicatory activity. Finally, we ascertained their sense of efficacy regarding school affairs--whether they felt attention was worth the trouble.

Table 2.9 gives the relationship between each of these participatory characteristics and the two orientations. All participatory variables are positively related to both parent and citizen orientations.

Table 2.9 Participatory Characteristics of Original Sample Members by Parent-Citizen Orientation.*

	Joint orientation:							
Participatory characteristic	Low parent, low citizen		Low parent, high citizen		High parent, low citizen		High parent high citizen	
Direct participation:								
Low	77%	(68)	61%	(77)	31%	(27)	22%	(27)
High	23%	(20)	39%	(50)	69%	(60)	78%	(95)
	100%	(88)	100%	(127)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)
Efficacy:								
Low	70%	(62)	57%	(72)	45%	(39)	39%	(47)
High	30%	(26)	43%	(55)	55%	(48)	61%	(75)
	100%	(88)	100%	(127)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)
Information exposure:								
None	49%	(43)	37%	(47)	40%	(35)	12%	(14)
One	25%	(22)	32%	(41)	24%	(21)	21%	(25)
Two or more	26%	(23)	31%	(39)	36%	(31)	67%	(80)
	100%	(88)	100%	(127)	100%	(87)	100%	(119)
Interest in local affairs:								
Low	62%	(55)	55%	(69)	43%	(37)	32%	(39)
High	38%	(33)	45%	(57)	57%	(50)	68%	(83)
	100%	(88)	100%	(126)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)
Interest in nonlocal affairs:								
Low	64%	(56)	54%	(68)	49%	(43)	35%	(43)
High	36%	(32)	46%	(59)	51%	(44)	65%	(79)
	100%	(88)	100%	(127)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)
Likelihood of voting:**								
Low	55%	(39)	44%	(42)	56%	(35)	23%	(25)
High	45%	(32)	56%	(54)	44%	(27)	77%	(83)
	100%	(71)	100%	(96)	100%	(62)	100%	(108)

*Frequency distributions are given in parentheses following the percentages. These frequencies are the bases to which the percentages in Tables 2.10 through 2.15 are computed. The participatory characteristics are also defined in the respective tables.

**This index was based on previous voting behavior, resulting in fewer cases where ineligibility was reported.

The highest relationship with the parent orientation is held by direct participation. Appreciable, but much smaller, relationships are found with information exposure, efficacy, interest in local affairs, and interest in nonlocal affairs.

The highest relationship with the citizen orientation is held by voting likelihood, followed by information exposure. Direct participation and interest in nonlocal affairs have somewhat smaller relationships with this orientation.

All participatory characteristics are more related to the parent orientation than to the citizen orientation, with the exception of voting likelihood. (In part, this may simply reflect a better measure of the parent orientation.) The one exception gives us some assurance that we have tapped the citizen orientation by using organizational membership. Organizational membership was used because voting likelihood is not a measurable characteristic for some persons; they may not have been eligible.

Another distinction between relationships found for the two orientations is of some importance as well. The parent orientation is more highly related to interest in local affairs than interest in nonlocal affairs. The opposite holds for the citizen orientation.

Direct participation is so highly related to parent orientation that we use it later to further refine levels of parent orientation.

Tables 2.10 through 2.15 give the results of our three variable analyses, taking each of the participatory characteristics in turn. Some comparative findings of interest follow.

The effect of the parent orientation is greatest among those with a low likelihood of voting but a high citizen orientation, where the difference is 50%. The parent orientation is also somewhat more effective in the high citizen condition among persons who have a high information exposure or who have a low sense of efficacy.

The conditions under which citizen orientation has its greatest impact on communicatory activity is among those of high parent orientation who show low direct participation in school affairs.

Of the participatory characteristics, information exposure has the highest independent relationship with the criterion variable, averaging about 21%. Direct participation has the next highest relationship, averaging about 17%. Efficacy has little independent effect. But this is to be expected. Efficacy is considered a contingent condition for participation and its effect should be reflected through the orientations. It can be seen that in the absence of both orientations, efficacy does have some relationship with communicatory activity.

Both information exposure and direct participation find their optimum effect among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. This is also the optimum condition for the impact of interest in local affairs and voting likelihood.

The joint effect of the two orientations on communicatory activity is tempered somewhat by the conditions of efficacy and interest in nonlocal affairs. The joint effect of the orientations is stronger among those with a low sense of efficacy, but among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs.

The participatory characteristic which together with the parent orientation accounts for the largest amount of criterion variance is information exposure. They account for 50% of the variance. Voting likelihood is close behind, with 48% in conjunction with parent orientation.

The joint effect of parent orientation and interest in nonlocal affairs on communicatory activity is greatest among high citizen orientation persons. For information exposure, the joint effect is greater among those with low citizen orientation.

Either direct participation or information exposure combines with citizen orientation to best account for variance in communicatory activity. Both combinations average 36%.

The joint effect of citizen orientation and any participatory variable on the criterion variable is always greater in the high parent orientation condition. This is particularly true for the joint effects of citizen orientation and direct participation or citizen orientation and information exposure.

Of the participatory characteristics, only information exposure adds much to the two orientations in jointly accounting for criterion variance. The three together give 66% differentiation in communicatory activity.

The general finding that each orientation affects communicatory activity more in the high condition of the other holds in the low condition of direct participation, interest in local affairs, and of voting likelihood.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the effect of the parent orientation on communicatory activity is greater among those of high direct participation and high information exposure. It is also more effective among those with a lower sense of efficacy.

The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in the high condition of direct participation resides largely among those of low citizen orientation. The citizen orientation does not affect the interaction with information exposure.

The citizen orientation does affect the interactive effect of parent orientation and two other participatory characteristics, however.

The parent orientation is more effective in the high condition of either voting likelihood or interest in local affairs--if the citizen orientation is low.

Holding parent orientation constant, the effect of the citizen orientation on communicatory activity tends to be greater in the low condition of participatory characteristics, especially information exposure and direct participation. There is one exception. The effect of the citizen orientation is greater among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs.

The greater effectiveness of the citizen orientation in the low condition of direct participation occurs among those of high parent orientation. In the low condition of information exposure, it occurs among those of low parent orientation. With voting likelihood, it goes both ways. The citizen orientation is more effective in the high condition of voting likelihood among those of low parent orientation, but more effective in the low condition of voting likelihood among those of high parent orientation.

The difference in how the orientations interact with participatory characteristics is of some interest. For information exposure, direct participation, and interest in local affairs, the parent orientation effects are greater in the high condition, while the citizen orientation effects are greater in the low condition. The first two are sizeable discrepancies (about 35% and 30%, respectively).

It would appear that information exposure and direct participation are functional equivalents of the citizen orientation, in part at least. Since this orientation is measured by a form of participation (membership in organizations), the conclusion is easy to reach.

Table 2.10 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Direct Participation in School Affairs.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	Low participation	High participation
High parent, high citizen	52%	65%
High parent, low citizen	15%	50%
Low parent, high citizen	21%	28%
Low parent, low citizen	6%	20%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.9. Low participation was defined as scores of zero or one and high participation as scores of two to four on a scale of four items, reported in Appendix B.

Table 2.11 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Efficacy.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	Low efficacy	High efficacy
High parent, high citizen	64%	61%
High parent, low citizen	38%	40%
Low parent, high citizen	22%	25%
Low parent, low citizen	6%	15%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.9. Low efficacy was defined as scores of zero to three and high efficacy as a score of four on a scale of four items, reported in Appendix B.

Table 2.12 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Information Exposure.*

Joint orientation	Per cent communicators among: None	 One exposure	 Two or more
High parent, high citizen	50%	60%	68%
High parent, low citizen	20%	43%	58%
Low parent, high citizen	23%	24%	26%
Low parent, low citizen	2%	5%	26%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.9. Information exposures were instances of non-conversational acquisition of school related information--from school board meetings, social gatherings, public meetings, bulletins or pamphlets, television, radio, or newspapers. Possible scores ranged from zero to seven.

Table 2.13 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Local Affairs.*

Joint orientation	Per cent communicators among: Low interest	 High interest
High parent, high citizen	59%	64%
High parent, low citizen	27%	48%
Low parent, high citizen	20%	28%
Low parent, low citizen	5%	15%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.9. Low interest was defined as scores of zero or one and high interest as scores of two or three on a three-item scale, reported in Appendix B.

Table 2.14 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Non-Local Affairs.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	Low interest	High interest
High parent, high citizen	51%	68%
High parent, low citizen	35%	43%
Low parent, high citizen	16%	32%
Low parent, low citizen	7%	12%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.9. Low interest was defined as scores of zero or one and high interest as scores of two or three on a scale of three items, reported in Appendix B.

2.15 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Voting Likelihood.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	Low likelihood	High likelihood
High parent, high citizen	64%	66%
High parent, low citizen	37%	52%
Low parent, high citizen	14%	26%
Low parent, low citizen	8%	6%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.9. Low likelihood was defined as scores of zero to two and high likelihood as a score of three on a three-item scale, reported in Appendix B.

Attitudinal Characteristics

It is an accepted fact that persons of extreme position, attitudinally, are often strongly attached to their positions. By extension, there is an expectation that these persons will be active advocates of their positions. Here we shall look at this relationship between evaluation of local schools and communicatory behavior.

Pride is a different kind of attitudinal characteristic. It occurs toward valued objects--objects which would be expected to have a positive evaluation in the eyes of the proud. In this sense pride is almost a participatory characteristic, representing a commitment of sorts. Again, it is generally accepted that proud persons talk about their pride.

Vote preference is attitudinal in a different sense again. The vote in favor of a financial issue is a vote more often in favor of the value of education *per se*. This follows from both the parent orientation and the citizen orientation, but primarily the former. The latter must see it as a societal investment.

Finally, we are concerned about the relationship between perceptions of the economic burden locally and communicatory behavior. Even casual observation reveals a "hard core" of taxpayer interests in school affairs.

Table 2.16 reports the relationships of each of these attitudinal characteristics to the parent and citizen orientations. All are positively related to the parent orientation, but only pride is of any magnitude. Pride and voting preference are slightly related to citizen orientation.

The three variable analyses for these characteristics and the two orientations are reported in Tables 2.17 through 2.20.

Among those who are low on voting preference and of low citizen orientation, the parent orientation makes a difference of 50% in

Table 2.16. Attitudinal Characteristics of Original Sample Members by Parent-Citizen Orientation.*

Attitudinal characteristic	Joint orientation:							
	Low parent, low citizen		Low parent, high citizen		High parent, low citizen		High parent, high citizen	
Evaluation of local schools:								
Low	51%	(45)	42%	(53)	37%	(32)	31%	(38)
Medium	34%	(30)	40%	(50)	37%	(32)	48%	(59)
High	15%	(13)	18%	(23)	26%	(22)	21%	(25)
	100%	(88)	100%	(126)	100%	(86)	100%	(122)
Pride in local schools:								
None	58%	(51)	55%	(70)	43%	(37)	25%	(30)
Some	42%	(37)	45%	(58)	57%	(50)	75%	(92)
	100%	(88)	100%	(128)	100%	(87)	100%	(122)
Vote preference:**								
Against issue	24%	(20)	16%	(20)	23%	(20)	12%	(14)
Don't know	17%	(14)	20%	(26)	10%	(9)	9%	(11)
For issue	59%	(49)	64%	(81)	67%	(58)	79%	(95)
	100%	(83)	100%	(127)	100%	(87)	100%	(120)
Perceived economic condition:								
Poor	66%	(57)	59%	(74)	52%	(45)	56%	(68)
Good	34%	(30)	41%	(52)	48%	(42)	44%	(53)
	100%	(87)	100%	(126)	100%	(87)	100%	(121)

*Frequency distributions are given in parentheses following the percentages. These frequencies are the bases to which the percentages in Tables 2.17 through 2.20 are computed. The attitudinal characteristics are also defined in the respective tables.

**Several persons reported they would be ineligible to vote in the forthcoming district election.

communicatory activity. Among those of high citizen orientation who have a moderate evaluation of local schools, the parent orientation makes a difference of 46%.

The effect of the citizen orientation on communicatory activity is greatest among those who "don't know" how they are going to vote but who have a high parent orientation.

None of the attitudinal characteristics has a very high independent relationship with communicatory activity. A perception that economic conditions are good averages about 6% with the criterion variable. Some pride in an aspect of local schools averages about 5%.

Among those of low parent, low citizen orientation voting preference does make a difference of 16%, but even under the optimum conditions none of the attitudinal characteristics has much impact on communicatory activity.

There is an important curvilinearity involving evaluation of local schools. Those of moderate opinion tend toward more communicatory activity. This is found in the presence of both orientations and in the absence of both, but not when only one is present.

If greater communicatory activity occurred only in the high parent, high citizen condition, the situation might be more explicable. For then we could simply conclude that highly involved persons have too much at stake not to know both good and bad things about local schools, and have too much investment not to talk about them. The difference among low parent, low citizen orientation persons, although comparatively smaller, does not yield to this explanation.

There is a different curvilinearity involving vote preference. The "middle" category, those who "don't know" how they will vote in the forthcoming financial election, has fewer communicators than either committed category.

Vote preference is the attitudinal characteristic which has the greatest impact on the joint effect of the orientations. The joint effect of the orientations is 17% higher among those who say they intend to vote "no."

Vote preference and pride are the attitudinal characteristics which, taken together with parent orientation, account for the most variance in communicatory activity among this set of variables. Together, vote preference and parent orientation account for about 42% of the variance. Pride and parent orientation account for about 38%.

The joint effect of parent orientation and attitudinal characteristics is little affected by the condition of the citizen orientation. The joint effect of the parent orientation and pride, or of parent orientation and perceived economic condition, is only somewhat higher among those of high citizen orientation.

The attitudinal characteristic which, together with citizen orientation best accounts for communicatory activity, is perceived economic condition. Together they account for about 26% of the criterion variance. Their joint effect is particularly evident among those of high parent orientation.

Citizen orientation and vote preference are more effective as a combination in the low parent condition than in the high parent condition.

Of the attitudinal characteristics, vote preference adds the most to the two orientations in jointly accounting for communicatory activity. The three together account for 63% of the variance. Vote preference, like length of residence earlier, is able to sort out all the communicators from among those of low parent, low citizen orientation. Only those "for" the issue were communicators.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in the high condition of the other is found to be particularly true for those whose vote preference is for the issue and among those who perceive economic conditions as being good.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the effect of the parent orientation on communicatory activity is considerably greater among those with low pride in the schools and among those whose vote preference is negative. In the latter case, this holds primarily in the low citizen condition.

Holding parent orientation constant, there are no simple interactions between citizen orientation and attitudinal characteristics with reference to communicatory activity. However, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for criterion variance among those whose vote is favorable and those whose perception of economic conditions is favorable --if the parent orientation is high in the former case and low in the latter case. The citizen orientation is more effective in the less favorable condition of vote preference and perceived economic condition if the parent orientation is low in the first instance and high in the second instance.

Table 2.17 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Evaluation of Local Schools.*

	Per cent communicators among:		
Joint orientation	Low evaluation	Medium	High
High parent, high citizen	42%	68%	52%
High parent, low citizen	41%	38%	41%
Low parent, high citizen	23%	22%	26%
Low parent, low citizen	7%	13%	8%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.16. Low evaluation was defined as scores of zero or one, medium as scores of two or three, and high evaluation as scores of four or five on a scale of five items, reported in Appendix B.

Table 2.18 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Pride in Local Schools.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	No pride	Pride in schools
High parent, high citizen	60%	63%
High parent, low citizen	41%	38%
Low parent, high citizen	20%	29%
Low parent, low citizen	4%	16%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.16. Pride in schools was measured as the number of aspects of local schools in which the respondent reported feeling a sense of pride.

Table 2.19 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Vote Preference.*

	Per cent communicators among:		
Joint orientation	Against issue	Don't know	For issue
High parent, high citizen	64%	54%	63%
High parent, low citizen	50%	11%	40%
Low parent, high citizen	20%	19%	27%
Low parent, low citizen	0%	0%	16%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.16. Respondents were asked their intended vote on the forthcoming election issue.

Table 2.20 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Perceived Economic Condition.*

	Per cent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	**Poor condition**	**Good condition**
High parent, high citizen	62%	64%
High parent, low citizen	33%	45%
Low parent, high citizen	20%	29%
Low parent, low citizen	9%	10%

*The subsamples on which these percentages are based are reported in Table 2.16. Poor conditions were defined as scores of zero to two and good conditions as scores of three or four on a scale of four items, reported in Appendix B.

In summary

In distinguishing between communicators and noncommunicators, the parent orientation accounts for 35% of the variance, the citizen orientation accounts for 19% of the variance.

The parent orientation is most effective among persons whose likelihood of voting is low and whose citizen orientation is high, and among persons whose vote preference is "no" and whose citizen orientation is low.

The citizen orientation is most effective among persons whose parent orientation is high, but who "don't know" how they will vote in the forthcoming financial election.

Age and direct participation are the test variables most highly related to parent orientation. Education and voting likelihood are the most highly related to citizen orientation.

The test variables with the highest independent relationships to communicatory activity are information exposure, direct participation, and sex. These relationships are maximum among persons with high parent, low citizen orientation.

Together the parent orientation and citizen orientation account for 58% of the criterion variance. The effect of the joint orientation is greater among those who intend to vote "no," those with high interest in nonlocal affairs, those with a low sense of efficacy, and those with more education.

Information exposure, sex, and voting likelihood combine most effectively with parent orientation to account for communicatory activity. A low citizen orientation enhances the combination of parent orientation and information exposure; a high citizen orientation enhances the effectiveness of sex and parent orientation.

The same three variables combine most effectively with the citizen orientation to account for criterion variance. All three combinations are more effective among those with a high parent orientation.

The test variable which adds the most in combination with both orientations is length of residence. The three together account for 70% of the criterion variance.

In the low parent, low citizen condition, only those who intended to vote "yes" and who were long-time residents were communicators.

The effect of either orientation is enhanced in the presence of the other. This tendency is greatest among younger persons, long-time residents, and those less likely to vote.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the parent orientation is more effective among those with more children, those who intend to vote "no," and those with high information exposure. The second of these holds largely for those with low citizen orientation.

The parent orientation is more effective among younger persons and long-time residents if the citizen orientation is high, but more effective among older persons and short-time residents if the citizen orientation is low. The parent orientation has more effect among those more likely to vote if the citizen orientation is low, but more effect among those less likely to vote if the citizen orientation is high.

Holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation is more effective among those with less information exposure, fewer children, and less direct participation. A high parent orientation enhances the last of these.

The citizen orientation is more effective among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs but more effective among those with a low interest in local affairs.

The citizen orientation is more effective among younger persons and long-time residents if the parent orientation is high, but more effective among older persons and short-time residents if the parent orientation is low. The citizen orientation is more effective among those more likely to vote if the parent orientation is low, but more effective among those less likely to vote if the parent orientation is high.

Without distorting the distributions of the locator variables, we have been able to account for 70% of the criterion variance with three variables, two of which are the orientations that represent our best hypotheses as to the bases for communicatory activity about schools.

Chapter III

Twelve Dimensions of Informal Communication

In the preceding chapter, we were trying to distinguish communicators from noncommunicators. Our interest was in predicting who talks about local schools by describing the factors which contribute to the likelihood of a person talking about the schools. Now, in these next five chapters, our interest is in communicators only. Our objective is to elaborate the conditions under which informal communication about schools occurs.

We have studied twelve aspects of informal communicatory behavior. These aspects fall into four areas: the scope of communication, the initiative exercised in starting conversations, the direction of communication, and influence in informal communication.

In this and succeeding chapters, we shall examine each of these four areas in turn. Each of the twelve aspects is taken as a criterion variable, dichotomized at the median of its distribution. This allows us to pursue the same mode of analysis we followed in Chapter II. It also minimizes any distortion that might result from using means when a few persons vary greatly from their fellow communicators.

The communicators differ from those in our original sample. Table 3.1 shows this difference. Most of the communicators are parents of public school children or school people. The latter are analyzed separately, so that leaves us with only public school parents for extensive analysis. We also need to redefine the parent and citizen orientations.

Table 3.1 Types of Respondents among Original Sample Members, among Original Sample Communicators, and among All Communicators.

Type of respondent	Proportion among: Original Sample Members	Original Sample Communicators	All Communicators
School people	4%	7%	18%
Parents with child in public school	36%	52%	63%
Parents with child in private school only	5%	7%	5%
Parents with pre-school age child only	8%	12%	4%
Parents with post-school age child only	23%	10%	6%
Non-parents	24%	12%	4%
	100%	100%	100%
	(N=464)	(N=174)	(N=922)

The "high" parent orientation is now defined as those public school parents who are members of a local school organization (e.g., PTA) and who have the highest level of direct participation in school affairs. This latter characteristic was observed in Chapter II to have the highest relationship to the parent orientation as defined there. Some 85% of public school parents were also members of a local school group, so the additional characteristic was needed to efficiently dichotomize the communicator group on this orientation.

The "high" citizen orientation was more simply redefined. The index is again membership in nonschool organizations. Now, however, the dichotomization point is moved up, to between one membership and two or more memberships.

Before we take up our mode of analysis, we shall contrast the communicatory behavior of all public school parents with other categories of citizens--school people, nonparents, and parents of private school, preschool, and post-school children. Having shown these differences, we shall then introduce additional variables only for public school parents and school people. The other subgroups have too few cases for this analysis. They return to play a further part in our analyses in Chapter VIII.

The Twelve Dimensions

In the area of scope, we have three variables. First, there is the total amount of informal communication behavior, measured as the number of conversations held by the respondent in the period prior to the election. Dicotomization at the median gives a definition of a "high" communicator as one who engaged in three or more conversations.

The second scope variable is diversity of topics. The measure is the number of different topics discussed by the respondent in all of his conversations. The topics are: school financial election, school costs, child's school work, courses given or needed, student services, sports, redistricting problems, special programs or events, school building needs, teacher quality, quality of school leadership, teaching methods, student accomplishments, student behavior, PTA activities, and a miscellany category. A "high" communicator is defined as one who conversed on three or more topics.

The third scope variable is diversity of conversants, measured by the number of different kinds of persons talked to from this list: family members, neighbors, coworkers, friends, school people, and PTA members. A "high" communicator is defined as one who talked with two or more types of persons.

The average number of conversations among all communicators was 2.4; the average number of topics was 2.7; and, the average number of conversant types was 2.0.

Initiative

A conversation begins with an initiator either seeking or giving. Our respondent could find himself in one of four conditions of initiative in any given conversation. The number of conversations in which a given condition occurred for the respondent is the measure of this aspect of initiative for him:

R gives: the respondent initiated the conversation by giving someone else an opinion or item of information;

R seeks: the respondent initiated the conversation by asking someone else for an opinion or item of information;

R is given: the conversation is initiated by someone else giving the respondent an opinion or item of information; and,

R is sought: The conversation is initiated by someone else asking the respondent for his opinion or for an item of information.

Each of these four criterion variables of initiative was dichotomized such that a "high" communicator participated in one or more conversations initiated in the manner described.

The average number of conversations initiated by the respondent giving was .74; the same average holds for conversations initiated by R being given. Similarly the averages for both R seeks and R is sought were about .46. Slight differences occur because both conversants for a conversation may not have been interviewed, or because of multiple conversants.

Direction

We stipulated an ordered set of categories which define *direction* of communication. These categories are ranked according to the assumed possession of information about schools. The categories from highest to lowest presumed knowledge about schools are: school people, parents of children in public school, parents of preschool children, parents of children in private school, parents of postschool children, and non-parents.

Three aspects of direction were measured. Conversations with someone within the same category is defined as *horizontal*. Its measure was the number of conversations of that type. Dichotomization was between one and two conversations of that type. Dichotomization was between one and two conversations, "high" communicators having two or more horizontal conversations.

A conversation with someone higher in the ordering is considered to be in a *vertical up* direction, with someone lower it is considered *vertical down*. Both measures were of the number of conversations, with dichotomization between those with no such conversations and those with at least one.

The average number of horizontal conversations among communicators was 1.8. Both vertical up and vertical down conversations averaged .38.

again with slight discrepancies because of uninterviewed and multiple conversants.

Influence

Dimensions of influence attempts and influence successes were assessed from the reconstructed conversations. An attempt is defined as the presentation by the respondent of an opinion not previously expressed in the conversation. The success of an attempt is defined as the explicit agreement to the expressed opinion by the other conversant. In the application of both definitions, coder reliability exceeded .90.

The measure of influence attempts is the number of conversations in which the respondent attempted to influence someone, dichotomized between one and two attempts. Influence success is measured as the number of conversations in which the respondent was judged successful, dichotomized between zero and one successes.

The average number of conversations in which an influence attempt was made was 1.4, the average number of conversations containing successful attempts was .6 per communicator.

These twelve dimensions represent four areas that to now have enjoyed most of the theoretical attention paid the flow of information and influence. The relevance of each area to this theoretical concern will be indicated in the appropriate chapters.

Communicator Differences

Of those persons lacking a child in public school who do talk to someone about the local schools, some show as much scope of informal communication as public school parents. Table 3.2 reports our findings for the three aspects of scope.

Table 3.2 Scope of Informal Communication by Type of Respondent.*

Type of respondent	Total conversations	Topics	Conversants
School people (N=151)	51%	53%	65%
Parents with child in public school (N=496)	39%	49%	63%
Parents with child in private school only (N=37)	38%	49%	59%
Parents with pre-school age child only (N=31)	13%	45%	48%
Parents with post-school age child only (N=31)	23%	26%	26%
Nonparents (N=30)	20%	30%	33%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators who engaged in three or more total conversations, who conversed on three or more topics, and who conversed with two or more types of persons.

We find that parents of children in private school, if they talk at all about local schools, are very much like parents of children in public school--with regard to scope of conversations.

School people who are communicators--almost absent in the original sample but now numerous among referrals--show more scope in all its aspects than any other group.

Parents of preschool age children are in both camps. They are low on total conversations, but on topics and conversants are clearly higher than nonparents of postschool children.

Table 3.3 gives the results for aspects of initiative. As reported earlier, a conversation is more likely to begin with a respondent giving or being given information or opinion than for it to begin with someone seeking or being sought.

Table 3.3 Initiative in Informal Communication by Type of Respondent.*

Type of respondent	Aspect of initiative: R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought
School people	56%	29%	59%	46%
Parents with child in public school	53%	35%	54%	33%
Parents with child in private school only	38%	41%	51%	30%
Parents with pre-school age child only	42%	23%	48%	23%
Parents with post-school age child only	48%	32%	42%	13%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators who participated in one or more conversations initiated in the manner specified (e.g., R gives: the respondent gave an opinion or some information to the other conversant).

Two exceptions occur in groups of small size. Parents of private school children are relatively low on starting conversations by giving. Nonparents show a similar lack of this aspect of initiative--although in their case the fact that they are sought comparatively often is a more provocative difference.

School people are highest on three of the aspects, but are relatively low on R seeks. There is a question of adequate group size in assigning importance to the difference between school people and public school parents. The latter is particularly notable given the opposite findings on other aspects of initiative.

To some extent the lack of R seeks among school people is highlighted by the relatively high proportion of school people sought for information or opinion. Even so, there seem many lost opportunities for school people to show interest in other people's opinions by soliciting them informally, i.e., starting conversations in this manner. As we shall see in Chapter VIII, the effort is worth making.

The lack of parents of post-school children who are sought is of some note. It is widely observed that educational discussions are never at loss for experts; everyone has had educational experience. It appears that an assignment of expertness is not extended to these parents for their experience with a child's education.

Horizontal communication--conversation with persons like oneself--is a distinctive characteristic of public school parents, as shown in Table 3.4. Their amount of horizontal communication outstrips that of school people, who had been found to have more scope of communication generally.

Table 3.4 Direction of Informal Communication by Type of Respondent*

Type of respondent	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down
School people	51%	**	66%
Parents with child in public school	61%	29%	18%
Parents with child in private school only	33%	57%	1[illegible]%
Parents with pre-school age child only	19%	84%	0%
Parents with post-school age child only	16%	61%	6%
Nonparents	23%	67%	**

*Percentages are of "high" communicators who engaged in two or more conversations with conversants of the same type, who engaged in one or more conversations with conversants of a higher type, and who engaged in one or more conversations with conversants of a lower type. The heirarchy of conversant types is given in this table; thus school people could have no vertical up conversations and nonparents could have no vertical down conversations (indicated by **).

Since the dichotomization point for vertical up and vertical down conversations is between zero and any, we can talk about the proportions of persons who had any vertical conversations, as well as the proportions of persons with "high" communicatory activity. According to our definition of direction, parents of public school children could have a vertical up conversation only with a school person; 29% of them did report one or more. They could have had a vertical down conversation with any of four types of persons; only 18% reported that they did.

For the four groups at the lower end of the order, the direction is heavily influenced by the large public school parent group. Relatively, they show more vertical up communication, toward this large group, than horizontal or vertical down communication.[1]

The current, so to speak, is toward the middle from both sides. School people show more vertical down than horizontal conversations--again relatively speaking. (In total numbers, school people report 271 horizontal conversations and 177 vertical down conversations.)

With respect to scope, parents of preschool children and of private school children who were communicators acted much like public school parents. This was not the case for initiative or direction. With regard to influence, some new discrepancies appear. Table 3.5 reports this data.

Communicators with a child of preschool age or in private school were less likely than public school parents or school people to attempt to influence another person. But their successes equaled those of public school parents and school people, giving them a better rate of success.

Comparatively, public school parents enjoyed a better record of success than school people, considering the difference in attempts.

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[1] The relative differences do not take into account the differences in "available" conversants. Most communicators are either public school parents or school people. Table D.1 in Appendix D shows the direction of conversations adjusted for the number of communicators above and below the category of the respondent. With this adjustment, each category shows more horizontal conversations. However, there is no *a priori* reason to restrict the conversants to those who do communicate with someone about the schools. Anyone *can* communicate--or be communicated with.

Table 3.5 Influence in Informal Communication by Type of Respondent*

Type of respondent	Attempts	Successes
School people	50%	44%
Parents with child in public school	40%	43%
Parents with child in private school only	24%	46%
Parents with pre-school age child only	26%	45%
Parents with post-school age child only	26%	16%
Nonparents	20%	21%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators who engaged in two or more conversations in which they attempted to influence their conversant, and who engaged in one or more conversations in which they succeeded in influencing their conversant.

Communicator Characteristics

In the four chapters that follow, we shall be examining the communicatory behaviors of public school parents and school people--the former in four subgroups according to parent and citizen orientations. All five groups are successively viewed at several levels of another variable. Demographic characteristics, participatory characteristics, and attitudinal characteristics previously used are used again.

Tables 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8 report the distributions of these communicator characteristics for the parent and citizen orientations and school people. The relationships between the orientations and these characteristics are helpful in locating communicators of a given joint orientation.

In Table 3.6, we see that among the demographic variables, sex and length of residence are most highly related to the parent orientation. Those high on parent orientation are more likely to be females and long time residents.

Education and sex are the demographic variables most highly related to citizen orientation. Those high on citizen orientation are more likely to be males and persons with some college education.

Few males are found in the high parent, low citizen orientation. The male communicators are most frequently low parent, high citizen orientation.

School people show more male communicators than any public school parent group. The age distribution is generally comparable. Their education is much higher on the average, as would be expected if the professional members of the staff were the communicators.

Education is not used as a locator variable among school people because of the few persons comparable to the public school parents low on education.

School people have fewer children, largely because many have none at all. This variable gives a kind of "parent orientation" measure for school people.

The length of residence for school people communicators is comparable to the average for public school parents.

Table 3.6 **Demographic Characteristics of Communicators for School People and for Parent-Citizen Orientations.***

Joint orientation:

Demographic characteristic	Low parent, low citizen		Low parent, high citizen		High parent, low citizen		High parent, high citizen		School people	
Sex:										
Male	25%	(28)	40%	(49)	9%	(9)	21%	(33)	46%	(70)
Female	75%	(85)	60%	(73)	91%	(94)	79%	(124)	54%	(81)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(103)	100%	(157)	100%	(151)
Age:										
40 yrs. or more	43%	(49)	53%	(65)	41%	(43)	50%	(78)	52%	(79)
20-39	57%	(64)	47%	(57)	59%	(61)	50%	(79)	48%	(72)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(104)	100%	(157)	100%	(151)
Education:										
High school or less	42%	(47)	21%	(26)	44%	(46)	22%	(34)	4%	(6)
Some college or more	58%	(66)	79%	(96)	56%	(58)	78%	(121)	96%	(145)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(104)	100%	(155)	100%	(151)
No. of children:										
One or two**	43%	(48)	44%	(53)	46%	(47)	36%	(56)	69%	(103)
Three or more	57%	(63)	56%	(68)	54%	(57)	64%	(100)	31%	(47)
	100%	(111)	100%	(121)	100%	(104)	100%	(156)	100%	(150)
Length of residence:										
Nine yrs. or less	59%	(67)	45%	(55)	34%	(35)	50%	(78)	43%	(64)
Ten yrs. or more	41%	(46)	55%	(67)	66%	(69)	50%	(79)	57%	(85)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(104)	100%	(157)	100%	(149)

***Frequency distributions are given in parentheses following the percentages. These frequencies are the bases to which the percentages in Tables 4.2 through 4.6, 4.14, 5.2 through 5.6, 5.14, 6.2 through 6.6, 6.14, 7.2 through 7.6, and 7.14 are computed. Frequencies vary somewhat because of nonascertained data.**

****Zero, one, or two for school people.**

Among the participation variables shown in Table 3.7 information exposure and interest in local affairs are most highly related to the parent orientation. Voting likelihood and information exposure are most highly related to the citizen orientation.

We shall not be able to use voting likelihood as a test variable among communicators. Communicators are all quite likely to vote. Only low parent, low citizen orientation communicators show much sign of not voting--even when, as here, the dichotomization on voting likelihood is as high as it can be set.

With one exception, all participation variables show a positive relation with both orientations. The exception is the relationship between parent orientation and interest in nonlocal affairs among communicators whose citizen orientation is low. The low parent, low citizen orientation person is relatively high on interest in nonlocal affairs.

The relatively small subgroup of high parent, low citizen orientation persons with high interest in nonlocal affairs emerges as an important locus of influence flow in subsequent chapters. All 21 of these persons are females.

School people have the same high level of efficacy as high parent orientation persons of either citizen orientation. Their information exposure is on a par with those of high parent, high citizen orientation. Their interest in local affairs is somewhat less than that of the high parent, high citizen orientation--but their interest in nonlocal affairs is greater. Like the parents, school people are generally likely to vote.

Table 3.7 Participatory Characteristics of Communicators for School People and for Parent-Citizen Orientations.*

	Joint orientation:									
Participatory characteristics**	Low parent, low citizen		Low Parent, high citizen		High parent, low citizen		High parent, high citizen		School people	
Efficacy:										
Low	40%	(45)	33%	(40)	26%	(27)	23%	(36)	21%	(31)
High	60%	(68)	67%	(81)	74%	(77)	77%	(121)	79%	(118)
	100%	(113)	100%	(121)	100%	(104)	100%	(157)	100%	(151)
Information exposure:										
Zero to two	55%	(62)	41%	(50)	32%	(34)	25%	(40)	24%	(36)
Three or more	45%	(51)	59%	(72)	68%	(70)	75%	(117)	76%	(114)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(104)	100%	(157)	100%	(150)
Interest in local affairs:										
Low	58%	(66)	52%	(63)	46%	(47)	36%	(56)	45%	(68)
High	42%	(47)	48%	(58)	54%	(56)	64%	(101)	55%	(83)
	100%	(113)	100%	(121)	100%	(103)	100%	(157)	100%	(151)
Interest in nonlocal affairs:										
Low	65%	(73)	73%	(88)	80%	(82)	60%	(94)	53%	(80)
High	35%	(40)	27%	(33)	20%	(21)	40%	(63)	47%	(70)
	100%	(113)	100%	(121)	100%	(103)	100%	(157)	100%	(150)
Likelihood of voting:***										
Low	26%	(26)	10%	(11)	13%	(12)	6%	(9)	10%	(11)
High	74%	(74)	90%	(95)	87%	(81)	94%	(135)	90%	(97)
	100%	(100)	100%	(106)	100%	(93)	100%	(144)	100%	(108)

*Frequency distributions are given in parentheses following the percentages. These frequencies are the bases to which the percentages in Table 4.7 through 4.10, 4.15, 5.7 through 5.10, 5.15, 6.7 through 6.10, 6.15, 7.7 through 7.10, and 7.15 are computed.

**Low efficacy was defined as scores of zero to three and high efficacy as a score of four on a scale of four items; low interest in local and nonlocal affairs was defined as scores of zero to two and high interest as a score of three on scales of three items; low likelihood of voting was defined as scores of zero to two and high likelihood as a score of three on a three item scale. All scales are reported in Appendix B.

***This index was based on previous voting behavior, resulting in fewer cases where ineligibility was reported. With so few cases of low likelihood, no further tables are reported utilizing this variable.

Table 3.8 records that all attitudinal variables are positively related to both orientations. Among those high on either orientation, the attitude is more favorable.

Pride is most highly correlated with parent orientation, followed by vote preference. The same two are most highly correlated with citizen orientation, but in reverse order.

With vote preference as with voting likelihood, most communicators are of one kind. Here they expect to vote "for" the issue in their community. This too we shall not be able to use as a test variable.

The school people are more favorable on each attitudinal characteristic than the most favorable of the public school parent group. The difference on pride is only slight in comparison to those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

No school person said he would vote against the forthcoming issue in his district.

Table 3.8 Attitudinal Characteristics of Communicators for School People and for Parent-Citizen Orientations.*

Attitudinal characteristics**	Joint orientation: Low parent, Low citizen		Low parent, High citizen		High parent, Low citizen		High parent, High citizen		School people	
Evaluation of local schools										
Low	30%	(33)	20%	(24)	23%	(23)	26%	(41)	11%	(16)
Medium	40%	(44)	51%	(62)	44%	(44)	32%	(50)	29%	(42)
High	30%	(34)	29%	(35)	33%	(33)	42%	(65)	60%	(89)
	100%	(111)	100%	(121)	100%	(100)	100%	(156)	100%	(147)
Pride:										
Low	63%	(71)	56%	(68)	52%	(54)	45%	(71)	44%	(66)
High	37%	(42)	44%	(54)	48%	(50)	55%	(86)	56%	(85)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(104)	100%	(157)	100%	(151)
Vote preference* **										
Against issue	17%	(19)	7%	(8)	6%	(6)	4%	(6)	0%	(0)
Don't know	7%	(8)	3%	(4)	3%	(3)	2%	(3)	3%	(5)
For issue	76%	(86)	90%	(110)	91%	(93)	94%	(146)	97%	(142)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(102)	100%	(155)	100%	(147)
Perceived economic conditions:										
Poor	48%	(54)	43%	(52)	43%	(44)	36%	(56)	26%	(39)
Good	52%	(59)	57%	(70)	57%	(58)	64%	(99)	74%	(110)
	100%	(113)	100%	(122)	100%	(102)	100%	(155)	100%	(149)

*Frequency distributions are given in parentheses following the percentages. These frequencies are the bases to which percentages in Tables 4.11 through 4.13, 4.16, 5.11 through 5.13, 5.16, 6.11 through 6.13, 6.16, 7.11 through 7.13, and 7.16 are computed.

**Low evaluation of local schools was defined as scores of zero or one, medium evaluation as scores of two or three, and high evaluation as scores of four or five on a five item scale; low pride was defined as zero or one instances of reported pride and high pride as two or more instances; poor perceived economic conditions was defined as scores of zero to two and good conditions as scores of three or four on a four item scale. All scales are reported in Appendix B.

***A few cases were lost because several communicators reported they were ineligible to vote in the forthcoming election. No further tables utilizing this variable are reported because of the small numbers of communicators who were against the issue.

In Summary

As a group, communicators contain more public school parents and school people than the general adult population. The incidence of school people among informal communicators is particularly high, considering their relative frequency in the population.

Twelve variables have been measured as aspects of four areas of informal communication behavior: scope (total, topics, conversants); initiative (giving, being given, seeking, being sought); direction (horizontal, vertical up, vertical down); and influence (attempts, successes).

School people who do talk about local schools informally show more scope than any other group. They show more initiative of all kinds but one; seeking. This last finding is suggestive, given that school people attempt to influence more than other groups, but succeed less often.

Communicator characteristics most highly related to the parent orientation among public school parents are information exposure, sex, and interest in local affairs. Those characteristics most highly related to the citizen orientation are education, sex, and voting likelihood. The parent orientation draws on females, the citizen orientation draws on males.

Chapter IV

Scope of Informal Communication

We have viewed scope of informal communication in three aspects: total conversation during the period preceding the election, total topics covered in those conversations, and total types of persons with whom conversations were held.

If we take communicatory activity to be an expression of interest in school affairs, the same variables which distinguish between communicators and noncommunicators should also distinguish between amounts of communicatory activity. Further, we shall be able to see later if there is a relationship between total conversations and form of initiative. If activity is primarily due to interest in school affairs, the more active should take the initiative more often than not in starting conversations, and also during the course of the conversations.

Both scope of topics and scope of conversants might be related to the individual's ability to influence others. The wider the range of topics and persons for an individual, the more likely he may succeed in influencing a given person in a given situation. We shall see in Chapter VIII there is correlation between influence success and these aspects of scope.

In this chapter, we look at the kinds of persons who engage in more or less scope of communication behavior. Our viewpoint still follows the two orientations, parent and citizen. Our objective is to show some of the conditions under which scope of communication varies by contrasting those persons with different amounts of scope.

We begin by showing the relationships of the two orientations to each aspect of scope, in Table 4.1

Table 4.1 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent Orientation, by Citizen Orientation, and by Parent-Citizen Orientation

Orientation	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants
Parent:			
High (N=261)	45%	56%	68%
Low (N=235)	33%	41%	58%
Citizen:			
High (N=279)	43%	52%	68%
Low (N=217)	34%	44%	57%
Joint orientation:			
High parent, high citizen (N=157)	47%	57%	71%
High parent, low citizen (N=104)	41%	53%	63%
Low parent, high citizen (N=122)	39%	46%	64%
Low parent, low citizen (N=113)	27%	36%	52%

*Percentages are of high communicators as defined in Table 3.2 High parent orientation is defined by membership in a parent group and by a score of four on the four item direct participation scale. High citizen orientation is defined by membership in two or more nonschool organizations.

The parent orientation accounts for 12% of the variance in total conversations, for 15% of the variance in scope of topics, and for 10% of the variance in scope of conversants.

The citizen orientation accounts for 9% of the variance in total conversations, for 8% of the variance in topics, and for 11% of the variance in conversants.

It is possible that the citizen orientation, measured as organizational memberships, affords per se a broader range of conversants talking about the schools. If this is the case, then it must be that school persons are also members of those organizations, because most of the conversant scope of parents is represented by conversations with school people. (See Table 3.4; contrast vertical up with vertical down.)

It is evident in the relative sizes of the joint orientation groups that there is some correlation now between the two orientation measures. A disproportionate number fall into the high parent, high citizen group. One result of this is to make the joint effect of the two orientations slightly lower than the sum of the individual effects.

Together, the two orientations account for 20% of the variance in total conversations, for 21% of the variance in scope of topics, and for 19% in the variance of scope of conversants.

Each orientation is more effective in accounting for any aspect of scope in the low condition of the other orientation. This contrasts with their interactive effect relative to any communicatory activity, reported in Chapter II, where each was more effective in the high condition of the other.

Demographic Characteristics

Tables 4.2 through 4.6 report the three variable analysis involving demographic characteristics of the communicators. Some analyses for sex have been omitted because of insufficient cases in one of the cells (only nine males were of high parent, low citizen orientation).

The most favorable conditions for the effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for the various aspects of scope are 21% accounted for in total conversations among those with low education and low citizen orientation; 28% accounted for in topics among those with low education and low citizen orientation; and 24% accounted for in conversants among those low in education but of high citizen orientation.

Optimum conditions for the effectiveness of the citizen orientation are 23% accounted for in total conversations among males of low parent orientation; 20% accounted for in topics among long time residents who are low on parent orientation; and 19% accounted for in conversants among those of low parent orientation who are either males or short time residents.

The demographic characteristics which have the highest independent relationship with aspects of scope are sex and age. Sex accounts for about 16% of total conversations, age for about 15%. Sex accounts for about 11% of topics, while age accounts for about 8%. Age accounts for about 10% of conversants, while sex accounts for 7%.

For total conversations, sex has its greatest effect among those of low parent, low citizen orientation. For scope of topics, it has greater impact among those of high parent, high citizen orientation. Age has its greatest impact on scope of conversants among those of high parent, low citizen orientation.

Males of low parent, high citizen orientation show an unusually high degree of scope of conversants, going against the average trend toward females having more scope of conversants.[1]

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[1] This interaction is remarked upon here because the missing cell precludes its appearance in the format being followed.

Only one demographic characteristic affects the join contribution of the two orientations on total conversations. This is number of children. The joint effect of the two orientations is greater among those with more children.

For scope of topics, the joint effect of the orientations varies by education, length of residence, and sex. The joint effect of the two orientations on the scope of topics is greater among those of less education, among those who are long time residents of the community, and among females.

For scope of conversants, education and length of residence affect the joint effect of the orientations. The joint effect of the two orientations is greater on scope of conversants among those of less education and among short time residents.

Age is the demographic variable, which combined with parent orientation, accounts for the most variance in total conversations. For scope of topics, the demographic variable is education; and for scope of conversants, it is age again.

The joint effect of the parent orientation and education on scope of topics is particularly evident among those of low citizen orientation.

Sex is the demographic characteristic which, together with citizen orientation, best accounts for total conversations and scope of topics. For scope of conversants, the characteristic is age.

We do not have the data to show whether the joint effects of citizen orientation and sex vary by parent orientation, but we do know that the joint effect of age and citizen orientation on scope of conversants is unaffected by level of parent orientation.

The joint effect of the two orientations on total conversations was 20% of the variance accounted for. Adding sex, the amount of variance accounted for is 36%.

For scope of topics, the two orientations alone accounted for 21 % of the variance. Adding age, the percentage increases to 33%.

For scope of conversants, the two orientations alone accounted for 19% of the variance. With sex added, the total variance accounted for is 27%.

The general tendency is for each orientation to have more effect on criterion variables of scope in the low condition of the other orientation. There are several exceptions to this. Among those of less education and among older people the orientations have more effect on scope of conversants in the high condition of each other.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in the low condition of the other is particularly evident for total conversations and conversants among younger people. It is also evident for total conversations among those with fewer children and for scope of conversants among those with more education and among short time residents.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the parent orientation is much more effective in accounting for all aspects of scope among those with less education. For scope of topics, the parent orientation is more effective among younger persons and among those with more children. For scope of conversants, the parent orientation is more effective among short time residents.

The parent orientation has more effect on total conversations among younger persons when the citizen orientation is low. It also affects scope of conversants more among the young people when the citizen orientation is low. The parent orientation affects total conversations more among older people if citizen orientation is high. It affects total conversations more among those with fewer children if the citizen orientation is low.

For scope of conversants, the parent orientation is more effective among older persons and those with less education when the citizen orientation is high, and among short time residents when the citizen orientation is low.

Holding parent orientation constant, the effect of the citizen orientation on total conversations is greater among those with more children and those with more education. The effect of the citizen orientation on scope of topics is greater among long time residents in the community, among older persons, those with less education, and those with fewer children.

For scope of conversants, the effect of the citizen orientation is greater in the low condition of all the demographic variables, particularly number of children.

For total conversations, the citizen orientation is more effective among younger persons when the parent orientation is low, and more effective among those with more children when the parent orientation is high.

With respect to scope of conversants, the citizen orientation is more effective among older persons and those with less education when the parent orientation is high. The citizen orientation is more effective among short time residents when the parent orientation is low.

Table 4.2 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Sex.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of scope/sex	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
Male	14%	37%	**	36%
Female	32%	40%	43%	50%
Topics:				
Male	36%	45%	**	45%
Female	36%	47%	56%	60%
Conversants:				
Male	46%	65%	**	61%
Female	54%	53%	66%	73%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and sex.

**Only nine males held this joint orientation, so the percentage is not given.

Table 4.3 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Age.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of scope/age	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
40 yrs. or more	22%	28%	31%	42%
20-39 yrs.	31%	51%	48%	52%
Topics:				
40 yrs. or more	29%	48%	44%	53%
20-39 yrs.	42%	44%	59%	62%
Conversants:				
40 yrs. or more	49%	58%	52%	68%
20-39 yrs.	55%	70%	70%	73%

*Percentages are of "high communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and age.

Table 4.4 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Education.*

Aspect of scope/education	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
High school or less	19%	27%	40%	38%
Some college +	33%	42%	41%	49%
Topics:				
High school or less	26%	42%	54%	62%
Some college +	44%	47%	52%	56%
Conversants:				
High school or less	49%	58%	64%	82%
Some college +	55%	66%	64%	67%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2 by joint orientation and education.

Table 4.5 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Number of Children.*

Aspect of scope/children	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
1 or 2	25%	32%	43%	38%
3 +	29%	43%	36%	52%
Topics:				
1 or 2	35%	51%	51%	57%
3 +	36%	41%	54%	57%
Conversants:				
1 or 2	48%	66%	57%	75%
3 +	54%	62%	68%	68%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and number of children.

Table 4.6 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Length of Residence.*

Aspect of scope/residence	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
9 yrs. or less	28%	44%	43%	49%
10 yrs. or more	26%	34%	40%	46%
Topics:				
9 yrs or less	42%	44%	57%	56%
10 yrs or more	28%	48%	51%	58%
Conversants				
9 yrs. or less	46%	65%	66%	73%
10 yrs. or more	61%	62%	62%	68%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and length of residence.

Participatory Characteristics

We have lost two participatory characteristics from Chapter II. Direct participation is now part of the measure of parent orientation. Voting likelihood is so uniformly high among communicators that it no longer discriminates efficiently (See Chapter III).

Efficacy, information exposure, interest in local affairs, and interest in nonlocal affairs remain. Table 4.7 through 4.10 report the three variable analyses involving these characteristics.

The effect of the parent orientation on total conversations is increased to 46% among those persons who have a high interest in nonlocal affairs and a low citizen orientation.

For scope of topics, the effect of the parent orientation goes to 33% among those with low information exposure and low citizen orientation. For scope of conversants, its effect goes to 31% among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs and low citizen orientation.

The effect of the citizen orientation on total conversations increases to 22% among those with low information exposure and low parent orientation. Similarly, for scope of topics, a 24% difference occurs among those of low information exposure and low parent orientation.

For scope of conversants, the citizen orientation has its greatest effect when the person has a low sense of efficacy and a low parent orientation. The effect there is 27% of the variance accounted for.

Interest in nonlocal affairs has the highest independent relationship of any participatory characteristic with total conversations averaging about 14%. None of the participatory characteristics have much of a relationship with scope of topics. Interest in local affairs is highest, averaging about 6%.

For scope of conversants, several of the participatory characteristics have negative relationships. Efficacy and information exposure are both negatively related to scope of conversants. Interest in local affairs has the highest positive relationship with scope of conversants averaging about 5%.

The relationship between interest in nonlocal affairs and scope of total conversations is greatest among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. Among these persons, interest in nonlocal affairs accounts for 38% of the variance in total conversations.

Interest in local affairs, which has the highest positive relationship with scope of topics and scope of conversants, is most effective in both cases among those of low parent, low citizen orientation.

It appears, then, that interest in local affairs is a functional equivalent for at least one of the two orientations. It taps an interest in talking about a variety of topics with a variety of conversants that our measures of parent and citizen orientation only partially encompass.

The negative relationship observed between efficacy and scope of conversants is most pronounced among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, where there is a negative relationship of 19%.

The joint effect of the two orientations on total conversations is most pronounced among those with high interest in nonlocal affairs.

For scope of topics, the joint effect of the two orientations is greatest among those with low exposure to information and those with low interest in local affairs.

The two orientations have their greatest joint effect on scope of conversants among those with a low interest in local affairs and among those with a low sense of efficacy.

These last two findings reinforce our inference above that interest in local affairs is a functional equivalent for at least one of the two orientations in accounting for scope of topics and conversants.

Interest in nonlocal affairs is the participatory characteristic that best combines with parent orientation in accounting for any aspect of scope. Together they account for 31% of total conversations, 20% of topics, and 16% of conversants.

For all aspects of scope, interest in local affairs is the next best participatory characteristic for combination with parent orientation in accounting for variance with aspects of scope.

The combination of parent orientation and interest in nonlocal affairs is most effective in accounting for variance in all aspects of scope when the citizen orientation is low.

Information exposure, when added to the two orientations, gives the best three variable predictor of total conversations and scope of topics. For scope of conversants, interest in local affairs adds the most to the two orientations in accounting for the criterion variable.

In the light of this last finding, interest in local affairs might not be regarded solely as a functional equivalent of the orientations in accounting for scope of conversants. But it can be seen in Table 4.9 that its additive effect to the orientations occurs entirely among those of low parent, low citizen orientation.

Each orientation is more effective in accounting for total conversations in the high condition of the other orientation among those persons who are high on information exposure or high on interest in local affairs, even though the general tendency is for each orientation to be more effective in the low condition of the other orientation. With respect to scope of topics, there are also several conditions under which each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other. Among those people with a high sense of efficacy and those persons with a high degree of information exposure, this occurs.

The more general tendency of each orientation to be more effective in the low condition of the other with respect to aspects of scope is found with regard to total conversations to occur among those with low information exposure, low interest in local affairs, but high interest in nonlocal affairs.

For scope of topics, the orientations are more effective in the low condition of each other when efficacy is low and when interest in nonlocal affairs is high.

Holding citizen orientation constnat, the effect of the parent orientation on total conversations is much greater when there is a high interest in nonlocal affairs. For scope of topics, the parent orientation is more effective when information exposure is low, and when interest in nonlocal affairs is low. For scope of conversants, the parent orientation is particularly effective when interest in nonlocal affairs is high.

In Chapter II we reported that the parent orientation has more effect on communicatory activity per se when participation variables were high. Here the effect of the parent orientation on total conversations and topics is greater when information exposure and interest in local affairs is low.

We have already commented on interest in local affairs as a functional equivalent--consistent with the above relationships. But information exposure poses a different situation, particularly with reference to topics.

We would expect information exposure to be more useful. A person with high involvement might talk repeatedly about the same topic. But to talk about many topics would seem to require greater exposure to information sources.

The greater effect of the parent orientation among those with high interest in nonlocal affairs for total conversations and scope of conversants is most pronounced among those of low citizen orientation. The tendency for parent orientation to be more effective in accounting for scope of topics among those of high efficacy is most obvious among those of high citizen orientation.

The low citizen orientation provides the condition under which the parent orientation is more effective in accounting for total conversation among those less interested in local affairs and in accounting for scope of topics among those less exposed to information sources.

Holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation is always more effective in the low participatory condition in accounting for all aspects of scope. There is one slight exception, in that scope of topics is somewhat better accounted for in the high condition of efficacy.

Again, more information exposure does not increase the scope of communication for someone of high citizen orientation any more than it did for someone of high parent orientation.

Relative to total conversations, the effect of citizen orientation is greater when the interest in nonlocal affairs is low. In accounting for scope of topics, the citizen orientation is more effective when interest in local affairs is low or there is low exposure to information sources. In accounting for scope of conversants, the citizen orientation is more effective when there is a low sense of efficacy or a low interest in either local or nonlocal affairs.

Even though the citizen orientation is predominantly more effective in the low condition of the participatory characteristic, there are a few instances in which it is more effective in the high condition of the participatory characteristic. When parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective in the high conditions of information exposure and interest in local affairs in accounting for total conversations. It is more effective in accounting for scope of topics when the parent orientation is high, among those with a high sense of efficacy or more information exposure.

The usual situation in which the citizen orientation is more effective in the low condition of the participatory characteristic is generally found to be enhanced by the low condition of the parent orientation. But there are two exceptions to this, both involving interest in nonlocal affairs. The effect of the citizen orientation in the low condition of interest in nonlocal affairs is greater for total conversation and conversants when the parent orientation is high.

We have a final comment on this section. Where information exposure and interest in local affairs have not added to scope when one of the orientations was high, interest in nonlocal affairs has. In relation to total conversations and scope of conversants, interest in nonlocal affairs has. In relation to total conversations and scope of conversants, interest in nonlocal affairs has supplemented the effect of the parent orientation--particularly among those of low citizen orientation.

It should also be pointed out that information exposure does act as a contingent condition for one important interaction. Each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other orientation in accounting for total conversations and scope of topics when the level of information exposure is high. In effect, however, it is only one of two contingent conditions. The other orientation must also be in the high condition. Otherwise, as noted before, information exposure does not enhance the effectiveness of either orientation--holding the other orientation constant.

Table 4.7 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Efficacy.*

Aspect of scope/efficacy	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
Low	24%	40%	33%	42%
High	29%	37%	43%	49%
Topics:				
Low	33%	52%	56%	50%
High	38%	42%	52%	64%
Conversants:				
Low	51%	78%	63%	78%
High	53%	59%	63%	69%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and sense of efficacy. Levels of efficacy are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 4.8 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen orientation and Information Exposure.*

Aspect of scope/exposure	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
Zero to two	18%	40%	42%	38%
Three or more	39%	38%	40%	50%
Topics:				
Zero to two	26%	50%	59%	55%
Three or more	49%	43%	50%	58%
Conversants:				
Zero to two	53%	68%	64%	75%
Three or more	51%	61%	63%	69%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2 by joint orientation and information exposures.

4.9 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Local Affairs.*

Joint orientation:

Aspect of scope/local int.	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Total conversations:				
Low	20%	36%	40%	41%
High	38%	40%	41%	50%
Topics:				
Low	30%	43%	51%	64%
High	45%	48%	54%	53%
Conversants:				
Low	45%	65%	60%	71%
High	62%	62%	66%	70%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and interest in local affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 4.10 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Nonlocal Affairs.*

Joint orientation:

Aspect of scope/non-local int.	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
Low	29%	36%	33%	42%
High	25%	42%	71%	56%
Topics:				
Low	36%	45%	51%	55%
High	38%	45%	62%	60%
Conversants:				
Low	53%	66%	58%	70%
High	50%	58%	81%	71%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2 by joint orientation and interest in nonlocal affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Evaluation of local schools, pride, and perceived economic condition remain of the attitudinal variables introduced in Chapter II. Voting preference has been dropped because it fails to distinguish among communicators. Nearly all communicators reported they intended to vote "yes" in the forthcoming district elections. Tables 4.11 through 4.13 report the results of the three variable analyses of the two orientations and an attitudinal characteristic for each scope variable.

The parent orientation is most effective in accounting for total conversations (a 22% difference) when the perceived economic condition is good and citizen orientation is low. In accounting for scope of topics, it is most effective (31%) when the evaluation of the local schools is high and citizen orientation is low. In accounting for scope of conversants, it is most effective (19%) when the evaluation of local schools is low--whatever the level of citizen orientation, and when pride in local schools is high and citizen orientation is low.

The effect of the citizen orientation on total conversations is maximized (to 18%) when evaluation of local schools is moderate and parent orientation is high, and when perceived economic condition is good and parent orientation is low.

Its effect on scope of topics is greatest (21%) among those with a low sense of pride and a low parent orientation. With respect to scope of conversants, the effect of the citizen orientation is greatest (22%) among those who perceive economic conditions as poor and who have a high parent orientation.

The attitudinal characteristic having the highest independent relationship with total conversations is evaluation of local schools, averaging about 14%. Its effect is considerable in three of the four conditions: low parent, low citizen; high parent, low citizen; and, high parent, high citizen.

Perception of economic condition has the highest relationship with scope of topics--and it is a negative relationship, averaging about 11%. Those who see economic conditions as poor range over a wider number of topics, particularly those of low parent, high citizen orientation.

Pride has the highest relationship with scope of conversants, averaging about 8%. Its effect is greatest among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. Even though evaluation of local schools is not, on the average, highly related to scope of conversants, it rivals pride under the low parent, low citizen orientation condition.

The independent relationship of evaluation of local schools to each aspect of scope is of some further interest. We had expected to find that persons of more extreme opinions would show more interest--and more scope. It turns out that those of moderate opinions are often the highest in some aspect of scope, and only once are they lowest: in accounting for scope of conversants among those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

The attitudinal characteristics have little effect on the degree to which the two orientations jointly affect total conversations. With respect to scope of topics, the joint effect of the two orientations is greatest among those with a high evaluation of local schools. Scope of conversants is jointly accounted for by the two orientations best when evaluation of the local schools is low or when perception of economic conditions is poor.

Evaluation of local schools, among the attitudinal characteristics, best combines with parent orientation in jointly accounting for total conversations. Together they account for 26% of the criterion variance. In accounting for scope of topics and conversants, pride is slightly better than evaluation of local schools in combination with parent orientation. Pride and parent orientation account for about 24% of the variance in scope of topics and about 16% of the variance in scope of conversants.

The joint effect of any attitudinal characteristic and parent orientation in accounting for any aspect of scope is always greater when the citizen orientation is low.

Pride is the attitudinal characteristic which best combines with citizen orientation in jointly accounting for any aspect of scope. However with regard to total conversations, evaluation of local schools does as well.

The average joint effect of pride and the citizen orientation for total conversations is about 18%, and 17% for the other two aspects of scope. With total conversations and scope of topics, the joint effect of pride and citizen orientation is more pronounced when the parent orientation is low.

Evaluation of local schools in combination with the two orientations accounts for 33% of the variance in total conversations. The best three variable combinations in accounting for topics adds pride to the two orientations. For scope of conversants, evaluation is again the leading contributor. For scope of topics, the combined effect is 35% of the variance accounted for. For scope of conversants, it is 26%.

The tendency of each orientation to be more effective in the low condition of the other in accounting for any aspect of scope is little disturbed by attitudinal characteristics. There are two exceptions.

In accounting for total conversations, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other among those who perceive economic conditions as poor. In accounting for scope of conversants, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other among those who have a low sense of pride in the local schools.

Holding citizen orientation constant, parent orientation interacts primarily with evaluation of local schools in accounting for aspects of scope. For total conversations and scope of topics, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have a high evaluation of local schools. But in accounting for scope of conversants, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have a low evaluation of local schools.

The difference in these interactions is striking. We have highly involved parents of two kinds here. Those with favorable attitudes exhibit scope in conversations and topics; they talk of many things. Those with unfavorable attitudes exhibit scope in the conversants; they talk with many kinds of people.

There are two instances in which the parent orientation affects an aspect of scope more in one condition of the attitudinal characteristic than another if we also look at citizen orientation. In accounting for total conversations, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have a perception that economic conditions are good, if the citizen orientation is low. If the citizen orientation is high, then the parent orientation is more effective among those who feel that economic conditions are good.

Similarly, in accounting for scope of conversants, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have more pride in the local schools if the citizen orientation is low. But when the citizen orientation is high, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have less pride in the local schools.

Holding parent orientation constant, the effect of the citizen orientation on total conversations is somewhat higher among those who have a low evaluation of local schools. The effect of the citizen orientation on scope of topics is not much affected by any attitudinal variable.

In accounting for scope of conversants, the citizen orientation is more effective in the low condition of all attitudinal characteristics--especially evaluation and perceived economic condition.

This was also the case, we found in the previous section, for the low conditions of participation--especially efficacy. Thus it seems that scope of conversants among those who view things less favorably is more fortuitous than purposive. That is, these persons are likely to see little chance of any impact.

Perceived economic condition also contributes to the effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for total conversations, but differentially according to parent orientation. The citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for total conversations among those who perceive economic conditions as good if the parent orientation is low, but more effective among those who perceive economic conditions as poor if the parent orientation is high.

The greater effect of the citizen orientation in accounting for scope of conversants among those who have less pride in the local schools is found among those of high parent orientation.

Table 4.11 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Evaluation of Local Schools.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of scope/evaluation	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Total conversations:				
Low	18%	33%	35%	34%
Medium	30%	40%	36%	54%
High	35%	37%	52%	51%
Topics:				
Low	33%	42%	48%	51%
Medium	48%	48%	51%	58%
High	27%	43%	58%	62%
Conversants:				
Low	42%	62%	61%	81%
Medium	55%	65%	64%	66%
High	62%	63%	64%	68%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and evaluation of local schools. Levels of evaluation are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 4.12 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Pride in Local Schools.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of scope/pride	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Total conversations:				
Low	23%	34%	37%	42%
High	36%	44%	45%	51%
Topics:				
Low	23%	44%	50%	56%
High	31%	48%	56%	58%
Conversants:				
Low	51%	62%	54%	70%
High	55%	67%	74%	71%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2 by joint orientation and pride. Levels of pride are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 4.13 Scope of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Perceived Economic Conditions.*

Aspect of scope/perc.cond.	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Total conversations:				
Poor	30%	33%	32%	46%
Good	25%	43%	47%	46%
Topics:				
Poor	43%	54%	59%	62%
Good	31%	40%	48%	55%
Conversants:				
Poor	46%	65%	55%	77%
Good	58%	63%	68%	67%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2, by joint orientation and perceived economic conditions. Levels of perceived conditions are defined in Table 3.8.

School People

We reported in Chapter III that school people average more scope in all its aspects than public school parents. Now, having divided these parents into four groups by joint orientation, we can place school people more accurately in relation to public school parents. We are also able to show differences among school people according to some of the same characteristics we use for the parents.

Table 4.14 shows the proportions of high communicators on each aspect of scope for school people of different demographic characteristics.

Of the demographic characteristics, only number of children shows much relationship to the amount of scope among school people. Those with three or more children have more conversations on more topics with more kinds of people than those with two children or less. This could well represent the parent orientation at work among school people.[2]

Table 4.14 Scope of Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Demographic Characteristics.*

	Aspect of scope:		
Demographic characteristic	Total conversations	Topics	Conversants
Sex:			
Male	49%	51%	67%
Female	52%	54%	62%
Age:			
40 +	51%	51%	66%
20-39	50%	54%	63%
Number of children:			
0-2	44%	50%	58%
3 +	65%	57%	77%
Length of residence:			
9 yrs. or less	52%	48%	62%
10 yrs. or more	49%	55%	65%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2.

Table 4.15 shows the relationships between participatory characteristics and aspects of scope among school people.

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[2] If we dichotomize between no children and any, the results are the same.

Information exposure is related to all aspects of scope, particularly total conversations and topics. So is interest in local affairs, but primarily with scope of conversat .

While interest in local affairs is positively related with scope of conversants, interest in nonlocal affairs is negatively related with it. They are quite similar in relation to the other aspects of scope.

Table 4.15 Scope of Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Participatory Characteristics.*

Participatory characteristic	Aspect of scope: Total conversations	Topics	Conversants
Efficacy:			
Low	52%	48%	71%
High	50%	54%	63%
Information exposure:			
Zero to two	33%	39%	58%
Three or more	56%	57%	67%
Interest in local affairs:			
Low	46%	49%	54%
High	54%	55%	72%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:			
Low	49%	50%	71%
High	53%	56%	57%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2.

Because we have no control here for the participation aspects of information exposure and interest in local and nonlocal affairs, the observed effects of these variables are not amenable to interpretation. But the difference with regard to scope of conversants that involves the two kinds of interest is.

It appears that interest in local affairs draws school people into contact with other types of persons, while interest in nonlocal affairs draws them away from such contact. In Chapter VI, viewing aspects of direction, we can see that this is the case.

Table 4.16 shows the relationships between attitudinal characteristics and aspects of scope among school people.

Table 4.16 Scope of Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Attitudinal Characteristics.*

	Aspect of Scope:		
Attitudinal characteristic	Total conversations	Topics	Conversants
Evaluation of local schools:			
Low	38%	38%	62%
Medium	43%	52%	71%
High	57%	57%	64%
Pride			
Low	47%	47%	61%
High	54%	57%	67%
Perceived economic condition:			
Poor	38%	54%	51%
Good	56%	53%	70%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.2.

Generally, the school person with a more favorable attitude toward the local schools, with a greater sense of pride in them, and with a feeling that the economic situation is good, has more scope of informal communication about schools.

Although a difference of only one percent is involved, the greater scope of topics among school people who see economic conditions as poor is a difference in the same direction as it was for parents. It is worth noting because it is an opposite direction from the rather sizable differences for the other two aspects of scope. This may indicate "taxpayer" critics within the school system as well as without.

Overall, school people have slightly more total conversations than any of the public school parent groups. However, they fall below the high parent, high citizen group on scope of topics and conversants.

In Summary

For the most part, the orientations do not play one of the roles expected of them in this portion of the analysis. Particular groups do not emerge as noteworthy in and of themselves. Rather, the orientations relate to scope aspects much like the forms of participation--as an expression of interest leading to more communicatory activity. This characteristic of the orientations can be seen in their interactive effects on the scope variables. They tend to be functional equivalents; they are more often effective in the low condition of each other.

In accounting for aspects of scope, this seems to be the pattern for many of the other variables introduced. They have a positive relationship with scope, but either orientation is more effective in the low condition of the test variable. And, conversely, each variable is more effective in the low condition of the orientation.

There are some notable exceptions.

The parent orientation is more effective in accounting for any aspect of scope in the high condition of efficacy and--especially--interest in nonlocal affairs. It is also more effective in accounting for total conversations and scope of topics among those with favorable opinions of the local schools and those who see economic conditions as good.

The citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for total conversations among those with more children and those with more education. Otherwise, it is more effective in the low condition for any aspect of scope. This interaction is greatest for scope of conversants, usually.

If the parent is high on information exposure or on interest in local affairs, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other in accounting for total conversations. In accounting for scope of topics, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other if the parent is high on information exposure or efficacy.

Each orientation does have some effect in the high condition of the other orientation. Their joint effects are greater than either alone, but somewhat less than the sum of their separate effects when there is no control for the relationship between them.

Sex has the highest independent relationship with total conversations, about 16%. The combination of sex and the two orientations accounts for 36% of the variance in total conversations.

Perceived economic condition has the highest independent relationship with scope of topics--a negative relationship of 11%. Pride and the two orientations together account for 35% of the variance in topics.

Age has the highest independent relationship with scope of conversants, averaging about 10%. Sex and the two orientations account for 27% of the variance in conversants. The two orientations alone often account for more variance in conversants in the low condition of a test variable than any combination of three variables. They are most effective (39%) among persons with an unfavorable attitude toward schools and among less educated persons.

Information exposure is related to scope of topics only among those of low parent, low citizen orientation. It is not related to scope of conversants at all. The role of such exposures in the flow of information and influence appears to need review, particularly given the lack of relationship to topics among those most likely to communicate informally (those of high parent or high citizen orientation).

We did not find that those of extreme attitudinal positions had more scope than those with moderate opinions. On the contrary, those with moderate opinions often had the greatest amount of scope.

We did find that favorably disposed parents have more scope of topics, while unfavorably disposed parents have more scope of conversants.

Among school people we found that those with an interest in local affairs have more scope of conversants, but that those with an interest in nonlocal affairs have less scope of conversants. This point has a bearing on the dissemination potential of school people with these varying interests.

Chapter V

Initiative in Informal Communication

If the flow of information between schools and community is to be regarded as something more than the composite result of a series of accidental encounters in which the subject of schools may or may not come up, then purpose should be observed. An aspect of informal conversation in which purpose is likely to be visible is that of initiative.

That some purpose is evidenced seems probable, given that seeking behavior occurs in the conversations reconstructed for us. However, either seeking or giving as opening "gambits" could be unrelated to purpose. Our best indication that purpose is being served would be to find relationships between the various aspects of initiative and variables that reflect purposeful behavior.

For each conversation, the respondent was asked to indicate who began the conversation and with what words. The manner in which the conversation was begun was then coded from his response to these questions. If the opening statement was a question, the initiator was seeking; if it was declarative, the initiator was giving.

The dimension of initiative as defined operationally is here restricted to the opening of the conversation from the respondent's point of view. He gives or is given, he seeks or is sought. The give and take that occurs within the conversation was also analyzed, and is reported in Chapter IX.

Although some purpose may seem indicated by the amount of seeking reported, there is also the question of whether individual purposes are channeled in socially important ways. For instance, is the person who has high involvement in school affairs, who has more information exposure about school affairs, being sought?

What kind of person does the seeking? What purpose does his seeking serve? Is he highly involved and relatively well informed, and thus probably seeking confirmation or reassurance? Is he poorly informed but concerned to express his opinion, and thus probably seeking information to form an opinion?

Table 5.1 reports the relationships of the orientations to the aspects of initiative.

The parent orientation accounts for 7% of the variance in R gives, for 13% of the variance in R seeks, for 6% of the variance in R is sought, and has a slight negative relationship with R is given.

The citizen orientation accounts for 7% of the variance in R gives, for 3% of the variance in R seeks, has a negative relationship of 4% with R is given, and no relationship with R is sought.

There is more variance accounted for by the orientations with respect to the active forms of initiative (R gives and R seeks) than to the passive forms (R is given and R is sought). This may represent a real difference or reflect unreliability of data about conversations started by others. Assuming it is a real difference, it suggests that the purpose of the initiator is more in expressing himself or fulfilling a need _per se_ than it is with expressing himself to a particular person or soliciting the advice of a particular person. That is, we can not see any evidence here that R gives to or R seeks from _someone like himself_, otherwise there would be no difference in distributions between active and passive forms of giving and seeking, respectively.

Table 5.1 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent Orientation, by Citizen Orientation, and by Parent-Citizen Orientation.*

Orientation	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought
Parent:				
High	56%	41%	53%	36%
Low	49%	28%	54%	30%
Citizen:				
High	56%	36%	52%	33%
Low	49%	33%	56%	33%
Joint orientation:				
High parent, high citizen	61%	38%	52%	35%
High parent, low citizen	48%	46%	55%	37%
Low parent, high citizen	48%	34%	52%	29%
Low parent, low citizen	50%	21%	56%	30%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators as defined in Table 3.3. Orientations are defined in Table 3.6

It seems clear that the orientations are going to have an opportunity here to take the role of locator for public school parent groups in which relationships between test variables and aspects of initiative have the leading part. An examination of the interactive effects of the orientations on aspects of initiative bears this out. None of the relationships is linear; there is no orderly progression from high to low or from low to high.

The high parent, high citizen orientation has the highest degree of only one kind of initiative: R gives.

The high parent, low citizen orientation has the highest degree of two kinds of initiative: R seeks and R is sought.

There is little difference by orientation in R is given, but the highest degree found is for low parent, low citizen.

The function of gregariousness, as expressed in the citizen orientation, bears some note with regard to aspects of seeking behavior. Those of high citizen orientation are more likely to seek only if the parent orientation is low; if it is high, they are less likely to seek. Controlling for parent orientation, those of high citizen orientation are somewhat less likely to be sought.

Similarly, there is no evidence of school-related gregariousness in the lower likelihood that a high citizen orientation person is given something to open a conversations. But if the parent orientation is high, and the person is himself giving, the citizen orientation does have some impact on initiative.

That the parent orientation is related to three aspects of initiative (R gives, R seeks, and R is sought) under both levels of citizen orientation does suggest purpose among those of high parent orientation engaged in informal conversation.

Demographic Characteristics

Tables 5.2 through 5.6 report the data for the following inferences.

The parent orientation, which on the average accounts for only 7% of the variance in R gives, accounts for 29% of the variance among older persons of high citizen orientation and 23% of the variance among females of high citizen orientation.

The parent orientation on the average accounts for 13% of the variance in R seeks. It accounts for 40% of the variance in R seeks among younger persons of low citizen orientation.

Although the parent orientation has little relationship on the average with R is given, it varies in accounting for 14% of the variance in R is given among those of low education and high citizen orientation to having a negative relationship of 8% with R is given among short time residents of low citizen orientation.

The average relationship between parent orientation and R is sought is 6%. Among males of high citizen orientation the effect of the parent orientation is 25%.

On the average, we found the citizen orientation to be little related to any aspect of initiative. But there are specific conditions under which the relationship is of some note.

For R gives, the citizen orientation accounts for 20% of the variance in three different situations: among older persons of high parent orientation, among those of low education and high parent orientation, and among those with more children and high parent orientation.

There is a wide range in the relationship of citizen orientation to R seeks, depending on demographic characteristic and parent orientation. The citizen orientation accounts for 22% of the variance in R seeks among those with more children and low parent orientation. It has a negative relationship accounting for 34% of the variance with R seeks among those of low education and high parent orientation.

The largest negative relationship between citizen orientation and R is given occurs among older persons of high parent orientation, where the relationship is 14%

As might be expected with an average relationship of zero, the relationship between citizen orientation and R is sought fluctuates on either side for various conditions of the demographic variable and parent orientation. The largest negative relationship between citizen orientation and R is sought occurs among those of low education and low parent orientation (11%). The highest positive relationship occurs among females of low parent orientation and among short time residents of low parent orientation, but the figure reaches only 7%.

The demographic variable with the highest independent relationship with R gives is age. The age relationship with R gives averages 12%. The other demographic characteristics all have a negative relationship with R gives. of these, length of residence has the largest relationship, averaging 9%.

The relationship between age and R gives is greatest among low parent, high citizen orientation persons, accounting for 28% of the variance. The negative relationship between length of residence and R gives is most pronounced among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, with 15% of the variance accounted for.

On the average, all the demographic characteristics have positive independent relationships with R seeks. Only sex has a relationship of any size, averaging about 14%.

The relationship between sex and R seeks is most pronounced among those of high parent, high citizen orientation, where the variance accounted for is 17%.

Age, which did not itself relate on the average highly to R seeks does relate rather highly among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, where it accounts for 27% of the variance in R seeks.

Education and age have the highest independent relationships with R is given, averaging about 10% and about 8% respectively. Sex has a small negative relationship with R is given, averaging about 4%.

The effectiveness of age and education in accounting for variance in R is given is highest in both cases among those of low parent, low citizen orientation.

For R is sought, education and sex have positive relationships, averaging about 10% and 9% respectively. Length of residence and number of children have negative relationships with R is sought, long time reisdents and those with more children being sought less frequently.

The effectiveness of sex and education in accounting for variance in R is sought is greatest in the same condition, that of low parent, high citizen orientation.

The joint effect of the two orientations in accounting for R gives is greater among older persons than among younger persons. Otherwise the demographic characteristics do not alter the joint effectiveness of the orientations much in accounting for R gives.

In accounting for R seeks, the joint effect of the orientations is greater in the high condition of the demographic characteristic, particularly among those of high education where the two orientations together account for 23% more variance in R seeks than in the low education condition.

In contrast, the joint orientations account for more variance in R is given among those of less education. The relationship is positive between the two orientations and R is given among those of low education in contrast to the general negative relationship between the orientations and R is given.

The two orientations jointly account for more variance in R is sought among males, short time residents, and those with more children.

Of the demographic characteristics, only age adds much to the parent orientation in jointly accounting for R gives. For R seeks, any of the demographic characteristics combines with parent orientation to account for variance. Number of children is the most effective companion of the parent orientation. The two together, however, only account for about 20% of the variance in R seeks.

For R is given, education and parent orientation together account for about 12% of the variance in R is given. The relationship is positive.

For R is sought, sex and education combine with parent orientation to account for about 18% and 17% of the variance, respectively.

The joint effect of any demographic characteristic and parent orientation on R gives is always more affective in the high condition of the citizen orientation. In contrast, the joint effect of any demographic characteristic and the parent orientation on R seeks is always greater in the low condition of citizen orientation.

Other than these two general tendencies, the joint effects previously noted for parent orientation and any demographic characteristic are little affected by the citizen orientation condition.

The only demographic characteristic which together with citizen orientation jointly accounts for any variance in R gives is age. The two together account for about 16% of the variance.

Sex is the only demographic characteristic which together with citizen orientation accounts for much variance in R seeks. Together they account for about 18% of the variance.

No combination of a demographic characteristic and citizen orientation yields much variance accounted for in R is given. For R is sought, sex and citizen orientation jointly account for about 19% of the variance.

In accounting for variance of R gives, the joint effects of citizen orientation with education, number of children, or length of residence are greater in the high condition of parent orientation. In accounting for variance of R seeks, the joint effect of citizen orientation and any of these three demographic characteristics is greater among those of low parent orientation. The inferences previously noted for joint effects of citizen orientation and demographic characteristics are otherwise little affected by parent orientation.

The combined effect of any demographic characteristic and the two orientations in accounting for variance in aspects of initiative is not much greater than that of the two orientations alone.

For R gives, the two orientations alone account for 11% of the variance. Together with sex, they account for 18% of the variance. For R seeks, the two orientations alone account for 17% of the variance. With sex added they account for 23% of the variance. For R is given, the two orientations alone have a slight negative relationship, and with sex this negative relationship increases only to 7%. The positive relationship of age with R is given is such that the three variable relationship to R is given emerges as positive despite the general negative tendency. For R is sought, the joint effect of the two orientations was 5%. Adding sex increases it to 13%. Adding age would also increase it to 13%.

The observed tendency of each orientation to be more effective in the high condition of the other orientation in accounting for variance in R gives is particularly strong among those who are older and those who have more children.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in accounting for variance in R seeks in the low condition of the other orientation occurs more strongly among younger persons and those with less education.

On the average there is no interactive effect of the two orientations in accounting for R is given. However, with reference to age, there is a pair of complementing interactions. Each orientation accounts for more variance in R is given in the high condition of the other orientation among younger persons. Among older persons each orientation accounts for more variance in R is given in the low condition of the other orientation.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the effect of the parent orientation on R gives is much greater among older persons. In accounting for variance of R seeks, the effect of parent orientation is much greater among younger persons. In accounting for R is given, the effect of the parent orientation is considerably stronger among those of low education. And in accounting for variance in R is sought, the parent orientation is somewhat stronger when there are more children.

We also see that the parent orientation is more effective in accounting for R is sought among those of less education. The converse holds: those with more education are more often sought if they are of low parent orientation.

This last finding does not square with the conception of an opinion leader as "someone like everyone else--only more so." We saw earlier that education has the highest independent relationship with R is sought. This is consistent with the assumption that there is a relationship between education and information level. But here, in this interaction, it seems they are sought out because they know more about lots of things, not because of the strength of parent orientation.

We reported earlier that the effect of education on R is sought is greatest among those of low parent, high citizen orientation. It seems that we have some "general" opinion leaders in this group—if being sought is taken as an indicator. It should also be noted that those sought in this group are usually females (see Table 5.2). Their leadership seems contingent on their gregariousness, not their parental orientation.

Males in this group, if they are opinion leaders, take the initiative by giving.

The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for variance in R gives among older persons is primarily found among those of high citizen orientation. Its effectiveness in accounting for variance in R seeks among younger persons is found among those of low citizen orientation.

The citizen orientation also affects the interaction of the parent orientation and demographic variables in accounting for some other aspects of variance in these criterion variables.

In accounting for variance of R gives, the parent orientation is more effective among those with more children when the citizen orientation is high. It is more effective in accounting for variance of R gives among those with fewer children when the citizen orientation is low.

The parent orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R seeks among more educated persons when the citizen orientation is high. It is more effective among less educated persons when the citizen orientation is low.

In accounting for variance in R is given, the parent orientation is more effective among younger persons when the citizen orientation is high. It is more effective among older persons when the citizen orientation is low.

Holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R gives among short time residents of the community.

In accounting for variance in R seeks, the citizen orientation is more effective among those with more education. In accounting for variance in R is given, the citizen orientation is more effective among those of less education. In this case this amounts to having a positive relationship between citizen orientation and R is given, whereas in the case of more education the relationship is negative—the usual situation.

The citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R is sought among short time residents of the community and those with more education.

The greater effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for variance in R seeks among the more educated is found primarily among those of high parent orientation.

The parent orientation also affects the interaction of the citizen orientation and demographic variables in accounting for some other aspects of initiative. In accounting for variance in R gives and R seeks, the citizen orientation is more effective among younger persons when the parent orientation is low, but more effective among older persons when the parent orientation is high. This situation reverses for R is given, where the citizen orientation is more effective among younger persons when the parent orientation is high, and more effective among older persons when the parent orientation is low.

When the parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R gives among those with more children. But when the parent orientation is low, the citizen orientation is more effective among those with fewer children.

Table 5.2 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Sex.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of initiative/sex	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
R gives:				
Male	46%	59%	**	52%
Female	51%	41%	45%	64%
R seeks:				
Male	18%	33%	**	24%
Female	22%	36%	40%	41%
R is given:				
Male	57%	49%	**	58%
Female	55%	55%	57%	50%
R is sought:				
Male	21%	14%	**	39%
Female	33%	40%	37%	34%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and sex.

**Only nine cases of males who were high parent, low citizen were found.

Table 5.3 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Age.*

Aspect of initiative/age	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
R gives:				
40 yrs. or more	45%	35%	44%	64%
20 - 39 yrs	53%	63%	51%	58%
R seeks:				
40 yrs. or more	27%	37%	30%	35%
20-39 yrs.	17%	32%	57%	40%
R is given:				
40 yrs. or more	47%	49%	50%	44%
20 - 39 yrs.	62%	56%	53%	58%
R is sought:				
40 yrs. or more	27%	26%	35%	29%
20-39 yrs.	33%	33%	38%	40%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and age.

Table 5.4 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Education.*

Aspect of initiative/education	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
R gives:				
High school or less	53%	54%	48%	68%
Some college +	47%	47%	48%	59%
R seeks				
High school or less	23%	35%	54%	20%
Some college +	20%	34%	40%	40%
R is given				
High school or less	45%	42%	48%	56%
Some college +	64%	55%	60%	50%
R is sought:				
High school or less	26%	15%	35%	26%
Some college +	33%	33%	38%	36%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and education.

Table 5.5 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Number of Children.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of initiative/ No. of children	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:				
1 or 2	46%	53%	53%	57%
3 +	51%	44%	43%	63%
R seeks:				
1 or 2	21%	26%	45%	34%
3 +	19%	41%	40%	40%
R is given:				
1 or 2	50%	49%	52%	46%
3 +	54%	54%	57%	54%
R is sought:				
1 or 2	38%	32%	38%	34%
3 +	25%	28%	36%	35%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and number of children.

Table 5.6 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Length of Residence.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of initiative/ Length of residence	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:	52%	56%	49%	68%
10 yrs. or more	46%	41%	40%	54%
R seeks				
9 yrs. or less	19%	31%	51%	36%
10 yrs. or more	24%	38%	43%	40%
R is given:				
9 yrs. or less	57%	55%	49%	51%
10 yrs. or more	54%	50%	59%	51%
R is sought:				
9 yrs. or less	28%	35%	40%	40%
10 yrs. or more	33%	26%	35%	29%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and length of residence.

Participatory Characteristics

Tables 5.7 through 5.10 show the relationships for the participatory characteristics and orientations with initiative criteria.

The parent orientations, which on the average accounts for 7% of the variance in R gives, accounts for 22% of the variance when information exposure is high and citizen orientation is high. It accounts for 40% of the variance in R seeks, in contrast to an average of 13%, when interest in nonlocal affairs is high and citizen orientation is low. It accounts for 12% in R is given, as opposed to the slight negative relationship usually found, in the condition of high interest in nonlocal affairs and low citizen orientation. It accounts for 29% of the variance in R is sought, compared to the average of 6%, in the condition of high interest in nonlocal affairs and low citizen orientation.

The citizen orientation, which on the average accounts for 7% of the variance in R gives, accounts for 19% of the variance when interest in local affairs is high and the parent orientation is high. It accounts for 18% of the variance in R seeks, compared to an average of 3%, when information exposure is high and the parent orientation is low.

For both R gives and R seeks, the citizen orientation has a high negative relationship under certain conditions of participatory characteristics and parent orientation. Among those with high information exposure and low parent orientation, the citizen orientation has a negative relationship of 17% with R gives. Among those low in efficacy and high on parent orientation, it has a negative relationship of 20% with R seeks.

The average negative relationship of citizen orientation to R is given is 4%. Among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs and high parent orientation, this negative relationship reaches 13%.

With an average relationship between citizen orientation and R is sought of zero, there is considerable variance in both directions according to participatory characteristic and parent orientation. Among those with low efficacy and high parent orimtation, there is a positive relationship between citizen orientation and R is sought of 18%.

This finding would seem to suggest that the citizen orientation produces opinion leadership--as indexed by R is sought--among those of high parent orientation only in the absence of a sense of efficacy. The suspicion that these persons might have negative evaluations of the local schools is confirmed in the next section (see Table 5.11).

Among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs and high parent orientation, there is a negative relationship of 22% between citizen orientation and R is sought. It does not appear that high citizen orientation opinion leaders are being sought for any knowledge they might be presumed to have about schools--or education generally.

None of the participatory characteristics has much of an independent relationship with R gives, the highest being an average of 4% for interest in nonlocal affairs or information exposure. This is rather interesting, considering that R gives might be viewed as an aspect of participation itself.

The relationship between information exposure and R gives is greatest among those of low parent, low citizen orientation, where it accounts for 17% of the variance in R giver. The low parent, high citizen condition affords interest in nonlocal affairs, a 14% relationship with R gives.

Interest in nonlocal affairs has the highest independent relationship with both R seeks and R is sought, averaging about 7% and 6%, respectively. Its greatest effect on both aspects of initiative comes in the high parent, low citizen condition, where the figures are 19% and 25%, respectively.

Interest in nonlocal affairs has a positive relationship with every aspect of initiative among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. That lowest relationship is 11% with R gives.

The same group of high parent, low citizen orientation persons with a high interest in nonlocal affairs was seen in Chapter IV to have relatively high levels of every aspect of scope as well. This small group (21, all women) evidently contains some "communication leaders." Whether these persons are also opinion leaders in ways other than that indexed by R is sought, remains to be seen.

Interest in local affairs has the highest independent relationship with R is given, averaging about 6%. Interest in nonlocal affairs is close behind. Both are more effective in accounting for variance in R is given in the high parent, low citizen condition, reaching 15% and 16%, respectively.

The joint effect of the two orientations on R gives is greater among those persons with high interest in either local or nonlocal affairs.

In accounting for variance in R seeks, the two orientations are more effective jointly among those with a low interest in local affairs, but also among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs, a high sense of efficacy, or high information exposure.

The effectiveness of the two orientations in jointly accounting for variance in R is sought is greater among those with a low sense of efficacy and among those with a low interest in local affairs.

The tendency for the two orientations jointly to be negatively related to variance in R is given is greater among those with high information exposure or high interest in local affairs. Among those with low information exposure and low interest in local affairs, there is no relationship between the two orientations and R is given.

None of the participatory characteristics adds much to the parent orientation in accounting for variance in R gives. The highest is an average of 11% for interest in nonlocal affairs and parent orientation.

In accounting for R seeks, on the other hand, all of the participatory characteristics combine with parent orientation to aid in accounting for the variance. The highest is an average of 25% for interest in nonlocal affairs and parent orientation.

No participatory characteristic combines with parent orientation to account for variance in R is given. Interest in nonlocal affairs again best combines with parent orientation to account for variance in R is sought. Together they average about 16% of the variance accounted for.

Although interest in nonlocal affairs best combines with parent orientation in accounting for variance in R gives, R seeks, and R is sought, the joint effect is dependent in part on the condition of citizen orientation. In accounting for variance of R gives, interest in nonlocal affairs and parent orientation are more effective in the high citizen condition. In accounting for variance in R seeks and R is sought, the two are more effective in the low citizen condition.

In general, none of the participatory characteristic combines with citizen orientation to account for much variance in any aspect of initiative. For R gives, the citizen orientation and information exposure together account for about 8% of the variance. For R seeks, interest in local affairs and citizen orientation jointly account for about 8% of the variance.

While the joint effect of any participatory characteristic and citizen orientation is generally small with reference to any aspect of initiative, there are some very regular interactions involving parent orientation. The joint effect of any participatory characteristic and citizen orientation in accounting for R gives is always greater in the high condition of parent orientation. But the joint effect of citizen orientation and any participatory characteristic in accounting for variance in R seeks is always greater in the low condition of parent orientation.

Adding information exposure to the two orientations gives a combined effect of 22% of the variance accounted for in R gives, as compared to 11% for the two orientations alone. The two orientations alone accounted for 17% of the variance in R seeks. This is increased to 24% when interest in local affairs is added, or to 23% if interest in nonlocal affairs is added.

The general tendency for each orientation to be more effective in accounting for variance in R gives in the high condition of the other orientation is greater in the high participation condition for all characteristics except interest in nonlocal affairs. There, the two orientations are more effective in the high condition of each other when interest in nonlocal affairs is low.

Two conditions of participatory variables affect the interaction of the two orientations with respect to R is sought. When information exposure is high, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other orientation in accounting for R is sought. When information exposure is low, each orientation is more effective in the low condition of the other. When interest in nonlocal affairs is low, each orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R is sought in the high condition of the other orientation. But when interest in nonlocal affairs is high, each orientation is more effective in the low condition of the other.

The first of these is deceptive. It seems to imply that information exposure enhances the effectiveness of each orientation as long as the other orientation is present. But Table 5.8 shows that the apparent enhancement is actually the lack of a negative relationship--the latter being found in the low information exposure condition.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the effect of the parent orientation on R gives is somewhat greater among those with high interest in local affairs or high information exposure.

In accounting for variance in R gives, the parent orientation is usually more effective in the high condition of the participatory characteristic when citizen orientation is high. The exception is that among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs the parent orientation is more effective in the low citizen condition.

The interactions involving R seeks are very interesting. The effect of the parent orientation on R seeks is greater in the high condition of information exposure and of interest in nonlocal affairs, that is, among persons more likely to already have relatively more information about schools.

Less information exposure is related to R seeks, however, in the low condition of both orientations. There, those with less information exposures do seek somewhat more often than those with more information exposure. The important fact is that those with an interest in schools, as evidenced in their orientations, do not seek more often if they are low on information exposure.

The parent orientation is more effective in accounting for R seeks in the low condition of interest in local affairs. The converse holds also; interest in local affairs is more effective in the low parent orientation. Functional equivalence with respect to R seeks is suggested. We observed in Chapter IV that these two appeared to be functional equivalents for aspects of scope. It should be noted, however, that this is not the case for R gives.

The interactions of parent orientation and participatory characteristics relative to R seeks are not affected by the citizen orientation.

The parent orientation accounts for variance in R is given and R is sought better among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs.

The latter is subject to a higher order interaction with citizen orientation. The parent orientation is more effective among those with high interest in nonlocal affairs in accounting for R is sought only if the citizen orientation is low. If the citizen orientation is high, the parent orientation is more effective among those with low interest in nonlocal affairs.

This gives us another view of a finding reported earlier in this chapter--that those of high parent, low citizen orientation with a high interest in nonlocal affairs are sought out by others.

Holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R gives among those low on efficacy or low on information exposure. But, in both cases, this stems from those of low parent orientation.

The citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for R seeks in the high conditions of efficacy and information exposure, whatever the level of parent orientation.

The effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for R is given is always higher in the low participatory condition. What this amounts to is a reversal of the usual negative relationship between citizen orientation and R is given under these conditions--if the parent orientation is high. However, for low information exposure, the parent orientation must also be low.

The citizen orientation is much more effective in accounting for R is sought among those with low efficacy.

There are interactions with information exposure and interest in nonlocal affairs relative to R is sought, according to level of parent orientation.

The citizen orientation accounts for more variance in R is sought among those with high information exposure when the parent orientation is high, but for more variance among those with low information exposure when the parent orientation is low.

When interest in nonlocal affairs is high, the citizen orientation accounts for more variance in R is sought when the parent orientation is low. When the parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation accounts for more variance when interest in nonlocal affairs is low.

Table 5.7 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Efficacy.*

Aspect of initiative/efficacy	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
R gives:				
Low	47%	55%	52%	61%
High	52%	44%	47%	61%
R seeks:				
Low	24%	28%	48%	18%
High	19%	38%	45%	40%
R is given:				
Low	56%	48%	46%	53%
High	56%	54%	58%	51%
R is sought				
Low	27%	40%	26%	44%
High	32%	25%	40%	32%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and efficacy. Levels of efficacy are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 5.8 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Information Exposure.*

Aspect of initiative/ info. exposures	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:				
Zero to two	42%	58%	47%	52%
Three or more	59%	42%	49%	64%
R seeks:				
Zero to two	24%	32%	41%	28%
Three or more	18%	36%	49%	41%
R is given				
Zero to two	52%	56%	59%	52%
Three or more	61%	51%	54%	51%
R is sought:				
Zero to two	27%	36%	41%	35%
Three or more	33%	25%	34%	35%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and information exposures.

Table 5.9 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Local Affairs.*

Aspect of initiative/ interest, loc.	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:				
Low	48%	51%	49%	52%
High	51%	45%	47%	66%
R seeks:				
Low	14%	30%	47%	38%
High	32%	40%	46%	38%
R is given:				
Low	52%	5[illegible]%	47%	52%
High	62%	53%	62%	51%
R is sought:				
Low	27%	32%	36%	38%
High	34%	28%	37%	34%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and interest in local affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 5.10 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Non-Local Affairs.*

Aspect of initiative/ interest, non-loc.	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:				
Low	53%	44%	46%	61%
High	42%	58%	57%	62%
R seeks:				
Low	21%	35%	43%	33%
High	22%	33%	62%	44%
R is given:				
Low	56%	52%	51%	50%
High	55%	52%	67%	54%
R is sought:				
Low	32%	28%	32%	35%
High	28%	33%	57%	35%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and interest in non-local affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Tables 5.11 through 5.13 report the data for initiative by the two orientations and attitudinal characteristics.

The effect of the parent orientation on R gives is greatest among those who are high on evaluation of local schools and high on citizen orientation, where it accounts for 22% of the variance, as compared to the average of 7%.

In accounting for variance of R seeks, the parent orientation is most effective among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools and a low citizen orientation or a high evaluation of the local schools and a low citizen orientation. In both cases 31% differentiation is achieved by the parent orientation. In addition, 31% is also obtained by the parent orientation among those who perceive economic conditions as poor and who have low citizen orientation. Those with low pride and low citizen orientation provide a context in which the parent orientation makes a difference of 30%.

Although the parent orientation usually has little relationship to R is given, it accounts for 22% of the variance when the evaluation of the local schools is low and the citizen orientation is low.

The average effect of the parent orientation on R is sought (6%), is raised to 27% among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools and high citizen orientation.

The effect of the citizen orientation, like that of the parent orientation, is considerably enhanced under certain conditions of the attitudinal characteristics and parent orientation. The variance accounted for in R gives by the citizen orientation reaches 26% among those who have a high evaluation of the local schools and high parent orientation. It reaches 25% among those who perceive economic conditions as poor and have a high parent orientation.

Among those who have a high evaluation of the local schools and a low parent orientation, the citizen orientation accounts for 25% of the variance in R seeks, as compared to an average of 3%.

For those who have a high evaluation of the local schools and a high parent orientation, there is a negative relationship of 21% between citizen orientation and R is given. This compares with an average negative relationship of 4%.

Among those who have a high evaluation of the local schools and a high parent orientation, there is a negative relationship of 20% between citizen orientation and R is sought.

It appears that the gregarious person is not sought because of favorability toward schools any more than for strength of parent orientation.

None of the attitudinal characteristics have much relationship with R seeks. Evaluation of local schools dominates the independent relationships with the other aspects of initiative.

There is a strong negative relationship between evaluation of schools and R gives, even though for high parent, high citizen orientation persons the relationship is positive. In the low parent, high citizen group, the negative relationship is at its strongest. We saw before that males in this group were more likely to take this form of initiative.

The situation reverses for R is given. Those of high parent, high citizen orientation show a slight negative relationship between evaluation and R is given. Members of the other groups are more likely to have had conversations initiated in this manner if their evaluation was favorable.

Thus we have those who are high in aspects of scope (high parent, high citizen) giving more often if they are favorable toward the schools and receiving more often if they are less favorable. For the other groups, however, the reverse holds; they give more often if they are unfavorable and receive more often if they are favorable.

The relationship of evaluation to R is sought is like that for R is given. It differs only in that evaluation makes little difference among those of low parent, low citizen orientation.

Those of high parent, high citizen orientation are sought more often if their evaluations are unfavorable (or moderate). Those of high parent, low citizen orientation or of low parent, high citizen orientation are sought more often if their views are more favorable. In the case of those with low parent, high citizen orientation, persons are sought most often when they have a moderate evaluation.

This adds to our pictures of two kinds of potential opinion leaders. The high parent, low citizen female with high interest in nonlocal affairs appears to be sought more often if she has a favorable attitude toward the local schools. The low parent, high citizen, more educated female seems to be sought more often if she has a moderate attitude.

The contrast between two of these groups (high parent, low citizen and high parent, high citizen) was not evident for the relationship between evaluation and two aspects of scope, total conversations and topics. Both groups showed more scope if evaluation was favorable. However, we did see in Chapter IV that scope of conversants was higher among the high parent, high citizen parents if evaluation is less favorable. It seems that this increased scope of conversants was of a passive nature, for here we see that they are higher only on R is given and R is sought when evaluation is unfavorable.

Those who perceive economic conditions as poor, whom we saw in Chapter IV to have more scope of topics in each orientation group, here show little difference in any aspect of initiative from those who see conditions as good. In particular, they are less likely to be sought when either orientation (and thus participation) is high.

The joint effect of the two orientations on R gives is much greater among those with a high evaluation of the local schools. The joint effect on R is given is much greater among those who have low evaluation of the local schools. The latter turns out to signify that there is a slight positive correlation between the joint orientations and R is given among those with a low evaluation of the local schools. Among those with a high evaluation of the local schools there is a much stronger negative correlation.

Perceived economic condition affects the joint effectiveness of the two orientations on R seeks and R is sought. The joint orientations have a greater effect on R seeks among those who perceive economic conditions as poor, but have a greater effect on R is sought among those who perceive economic conditions as good.

None of the attitudinal characteristics combine with parent orientation to account for much variance in R gives. The best combination is perception of economic condition and parent orientation, which together average about 8% of the variance accounted for.

In accounting for variance in R seeks, all three of the attitudinal characteristics add something. The best combination is pride with parent orientation. Together they account for about 16% of the variance.

Only evaluation of local schools combines with parent orientation effectively to account for variance in R is given. The two together account for about 18% of the variance in R is given. This is the only combination of two or three variables which has any positive relationship with R is given.

Evaluation again is the most effective supplement to parent orientation in accounting for variance in R is sought. Together they average about 18% of the variance accounted for.

The joint effectiveness of parent orientation and any attitudinal characteristic in accounting for variance in R gives or R seeks is influenced by the condition of the citizen orientation. Any combination of attitudinal characteristic and parent orientation is more effective in the high citizen condition in accounting for variance in R gives. But in accounting for variance in R seeks, any combination of attitudinal characteristic and parent orientation is more effective among those of low citizen orientation.

Only perception of economic condition combines with citizen orientation to account for much variance in R gives. Together they average about 10%.

In accounting for variance in R seeks and R is given, evaluation of local schools adds the most to citizen orientation. However, in both cases they only average about 6% in variance accounted for. Nothing helps citizen orientation in accounting for variance in R is sought.

The joint effect of any citizen orientation and attitudinal characteristic combination on the variance in R gives is always greater among those of high parent orientation. In accounting for variance in R seeks, any attitudinal characteristic combined with citizen orientation is always more effective in the low parent orientation condition.

None of the attitudinal characteristics, when added to the two orientations, gives much of an increase in variance accounted for in any aspect of initiative.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in the high condition of the other in accounting for variance in R gives is found to hold among those who have a high evaluation of local schools. Among those who have a low evaluation of local schools, each orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R gives in the low condition of the other orientation.

Each orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in R is given and R is sought in the high condition of the other orientation among those persons who have a low evaluation of local schools.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the parent orientation has more effect on R gives when evaluation of the local schools is high. It has more effect on R seeks among those with a lower sense of pride or those who perceive economic conditions as poor.

The parent orientation is somewhat more effective in accounting for variance in R is given among those with a low evaluation of local schools. None of the attitudinal characteristics influence the effect of parent orientation with regard to variance in R is sought.

The effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for variance in R gives among those with a high evaluation of local schools is confined almost entirely to those of high citizen orientation.

With regard to R is given and R is sought, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have a high evaluation of the local schools if the citizen orientation is low. However, if the citizen orientation is high, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have a low evaluation of local schools.

Holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation has more effect on R gives among those who have a high evaluation of local schools, and among those who have a perception that economic conditions are poor.

The greater effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for variance in R gives among those who have a high evaluation of the local schools resides primarily among those who have a high parent orientation.

In accounting for variance in R seeks, the citizen orientation is more effective among those who have a high evaluation of local schools or a high sense of pride.

Variance in R is given is better accounted for by the citizen orientation among those who have a low evaluation of local schools. Similarly, variance in R is sought is better accounted for by the citizen orientation among those who have a low evaluation of local schools. The perception that economic conditions are good also enhances the effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for variance in R is sought.

The effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for variance in R is given among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools resides among those with a high parent orientation. The same finding holds for variance in R is sought.

Table 5.11 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Evaluation of Local Schools.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of initiative/ evaluation	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:				
Low	55%	71%	61%	54%
Medium	57%	40%	47%	60%
High	38%	46%	42%	68%
R seeks:				
Low	21%	38%	52%	37%
Medium	23%	29%	42%	34%
High	18%	43%	49%	42%
R is given:				
Low	48%	29%	36%	51%
Medium	55%	63%	56%	58%
High	68%	49%	67%	46%
R is sought				
Low	30%	12%	30%	39%
Medium	27%	25%	49%	29%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and evaluation of local schools. Levels of evaluation are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 5.12 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Pride in Local Schools.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of initiative/ pride in loc. schls.	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:				
Low	49%	49%	54%	59%
High	50%	48%	42%	63%
R seeks				
Low	20%	27%	50%	37%
High	24%	41%	42%	38%
R is given:				
Low	55%	50%	50%	52%
High	57%	56%	61%	51%
R is sought:				
Low	31%	29%	33%	35%
High	29%	30%	40%	35%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and pride in local schools. Levels of pride are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 5.13 Initiative in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Perceived Economic Conditions.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of initiative/ Perc. conditions	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
R gives:				
Poor	48%	48%	41%	66%
Good	51%	49%	54%	59%
R seeks:				
Poor	19%	33%	50%	45%
Good	24%	36%	43%	34%
R is given:				
Poor	52%	56%	56%	50%
Good	59%	50%	55%	53%
R is sought:				
Poor	33%	23%	34%	29%
Good	27%	34%	40%	37%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3, by joint orientation and perceived economic conditions. Levels of perceived conditions are defined in Table 3.8.

School People

Tables 5.14 through 5.16 give the data on forms of initiative among school people by various types of characteristics.

None of the differences by demographic characteristics are of great magnitude. Several are noteworthy, perhaps. Males tend to give and be sought more; females are given and seek more. Younger school people are more likely to be sought, but older ones to give.

A greater number of children seems here to bring parallel results with those on scope in the previous chapter. That is, the active forms

Table 5.14 Initiative in Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Demographic Characteristics.*

Demographic Characteristic	Aspect of Initiative: R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought
Sex:				
Male	59%	27%	53%	49%
Female	53%	31%	64%	43%
Age:				
40+	60%	30%	60%	43%
20 - 39	51%	28%	58%	49%
Number of children:				
0 - 2	52%	26%	59%	45%
3+	62%	36%	57%	47%
Length of residence:				
9 yrs. or less	56%	28%	64%	44%
10 yrs. or more	54%	31%	54%	47%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3.

of initiative are more likely among those with more children, just as scope was greater among these people.

Short time residents are given more, at least to begin the conversations.

All of the participatory characteristics increase the likelihood of R gives among school people, but particularly interest in local affairs and efficacy.

Table 5.15 Initiative in Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Participatory Characteristics.*

Participatory Characteristic	Aspect of Initiative: R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought
Efficacy:				
Low	48%	29%	77%	39%
High	58%	29%	54%	47%
Information exposure:				
Zero to two	54%	35%	51%	35%
Three or more	56%	27%	61%	49%
Interest in local affairs:				
Low	47%	34%	59%	47%
High	63%	25%	59%	45%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:				
Low	54%	33%	58%	44%
High	57%	24%	60%	47%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3.

R seeks is not at all affected by efficacy. But is is more likely among school people whose information exposure is low or whose interest in local or nonlocal affairs is low.

R is given increases among low efficacy school people but also among those with more information exposure. This is in contrast to R is sought where high efficacy as well as high information exposure is related to a greater likelihood of being sought.

There is a small tendency for more favorable school people and those with more pride to have more R gives and R seeks forms of initiative. The tendency is larger with respect to R is sought, which is also related to perception of good economic conditions.

Table 5.16 Initiative in Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Attitudinal Characteristics.*

	Aspect of Initiative:			
Attitudinal Characteristic	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought
Evaluation of local schools:				
Low	50%	25%	69%	31%
Medium	55%	31%	50%	43%
High	57%	30%	62%	49%
Pride				
Low	53%	27%	58%	41%
High	58%	31%	60%	49%
Perceived economic condition:				
Poor	59%	31%	56%	38%
Good	55%	29%	61%	48%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.3.

The school people with moderate opinions of local schools are less likely to be given information or opinion by someone else than their moderate opinion counterparts among the parents.

The school people who are sought differ from high parent orientation persons who are sought in several ways. The principal differences are that school people sought tend to have more, not less, information exposure while having low, not high, interest in nonlocal affairs. Interest in local affairs makes no difference among school people in their being sought. Efficacy does, but this may be seen as a consequence. Those who are sought may feel that what they have to say about schools will make a difference!

In Summary

Unlike scope of informal communication, which shows many similar relationships to orientations in all its aspects, initiative forms have diverse relationships. Primarily for this reason, we shall organize the summary by the four forms of initiative.

R gives is greater when both orientations are high, but if only one is high there is no appreciable difference. Age, evaluation of local schools, length of residence, and education show independent relations with R gives. R gives is more likely among younger persons, among the less educated, among short time residents, and among those who hold a less favorable opinion of the local schools.

The effect of the parent orientation on R gives is greatest when the person is either older or has a favorable opinion of local schools.

The effect of the citizen orientation on R gives is greatest when the person has a favorable opinion of the local schools, has less information exposure, perceives economic conditions as poor, or is a short time resident.

Thus, given the above, the joint effect of the orientations is greatest when the person has a favorable view of the local schools.

There are a number of complex interactions which we shall state from the point of view of the test variable--since the orientations are often not as important in accounting for initiative forms:

> R gives is more likely with more information exposure except when parent orientation is low and citizen orientation high.
>
> R gives is more likely with an unfavorable evaluation of local schools except among high parent, high citizen orientation persons.
>
> R gives is more likely with high interest in nonlocal affairs except when both orientations are low.
>
> R gives is more likely among younger parents except when both orientations are high.

Among school people, R gives is related to interest in local affairs, number of children, and sense of efficacy.

R seeks as a form of initiative is more highly related to parent orientation than citizen orientation. There is an interaction, with each orientation being more effective in the low condition of the other. The citizen orientation is negatively related if the parent orientation is high.

Sex and interest in local or nonlocal affairs have the highest independent relationships with R seeks. Females and those with a high interest in either local or nonlocal affairs are more likely to seek.

The parent orientation affects R seeks most among younger persons, those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs, and those with a low interest in local affairs. The latter two contrast interestingly.

The orientations enter into several relationships with R seeks through complex interactions:

> High parent, low citizen parents are much more likely to seek if they are younger.
>
> Less educated parents tend to seek more except when they are high on both orientations; then they seek much less.

School people with more children, less information exposure, and low interest in local and nonlocal affairs are more likely to seek.

Neither orientation is related to R is given to any extent, citizen orientation being only slightly negatively related. But a number of other variables are related to R is given.

R is given is more likely among the more favorable toward local schools, among the younger, among the more educated, and among those with a high interest in local and nonlocal affairs.

The effect of education, age, and evaluation on R is given is greater in the low parent condition than the high; the effect of interest in nonlocal affairs on R is given is greater in the high parent condition.

The effect of education, evaluation, and interest in local affairs on R is given is greater in the low citizen condition.

Among parents either of whose orientations are low, education increases the likelihood of R is given; but among those whose orientations are both high, it decreases the likelihood.

R is given is also more likely to occur among those favorable to the local schools, except in the case where both orientations are high.

Among school people, those of low efficacy, females, short time residents, and those with more information exposure show more R is given.

R is sought is related to the parent orientation but not to the citizen orientation. Other variables related to R is sought are:

Education--the more educated are sought;

Sex--females are more often sought;

Age--the younger are more often sought;

Interest in nonlocal affairs--those high in interest are sought; and,

Evaluation of local schools--those favorable are more often sought.

Interactions affect these general relationships, however.

The more educated are more likely to be sought if they are of low parent, high citizen orientation.

Females of low parent orientation are more likely to be sought than males, but males are more likely to be sought than females if both orientations are high.

Those with high interest in nonlocal affairs are most likely to be sought if they are of high parent, low citizen orientation.

Those with favorable opinions of local schools are more likely to be sought except for those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

Information exposure among parents relates to R is sought only if both orientations are low, and then only slightly. This contrasts with school people, among whom information exposure increases the extent of R is sought.

Another variable which characterizes school people who are more often sought is a favorable opinion about local schools. A sense of efficacy, more pride, and a perception of good economic conditions also relate to R is sought among school people.

Chapter VI

Direction of Informal Communication

We have established somewhat arbitrarily an ordered set of respondent categories which define direction with respect to school information. We have assumed that those persons whose roles bring them closest to the schools are more informed. On this basis we obtain the following ordering of respondent groups, from high to low:

School people;
Public school parents;
Parents of preschool age children;
Private school parents;
Parents of postschool age children; and,
Nonparents.

Conversations with someone from a group higher on the list are vertical up; those with someone from a group lower are vertical down; and, those with someone from the same group are horizontal.

The concept of direction of informal communication has considerable importance for a discussion of the dissemination and feedback of information relating to schools. Knowledge of the kinds of persons who engage in one or both vertical forms of conversation aids the communicator in planning an informational program. Knowledge of who converses in at least two directions is essential to our understanding of the flow of information and influence.

The communication leader is a person who relays information from one person or agency to another. He may differ from others in no characteristics other than that he does serve the relay function. He may or may not be an opinion leader.

The relay function may be undertaken in several ways. It may consist of talking with school people and then with other public school parents. It may consist of talking with other public school parents and then with other kinds of parents or nonparents. It may be the reverse of any of these. And there are other possibilities. It may consist of acquiring some information from the mass media--or other public communication--and conveying it to someone else, in any direction.[1]

In this chapter, we get a preliminary look at the incidence of the relay function. We are able to see if the same kinds of persons who are high on one aspect of direction are high on another. (To be "high" on either aspect of vertical conversation needs only one such conversation.) In Chapter VIII, we shall see if the same person (not just the same kind of person) engages in two different directions of conversation.

Table 6.1 gives the data on how parent and citizen orientations relate to different aspects of direction.

The citizen orientation has the higher relationship with horizontal conversations, averaging 12% to the parent orientation's 8%.

The parent orientation is more highly related to vertical up conversations, averaging 12% to the citizen orientation's 6%.

---

[1] This last relay function is that first designated as the "two-step flow of communication." See: Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication." in: Wilbur Schramm, Mass Communications. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1960, pp. 346-65. He includes other relay functions after reviewing studies of information and influence flow.

Neither orientation has much relation to vertical down conversations. The parent orientation has a slight positive relationship (2%); the citizen orientation has a slight negative relationship (3%).

Table 6.1 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent Orientation, by Citizen Orientation, and by Parent-Citizen Orientation.*

	Aspect of direction:		
Orientation	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down
Parent:			
High	65%	34%	19%
Low	57%	22%	17%
Citizen:			
High	66%	31%	17%
Low	54%	25%	20%
Joint orientation:			
High parent, high citizen	71%	35%	17%
High parent, low citizen	55%	34%	22%
Low parent, high citizen	61%	26%	16%
Low parent, low citizen	54%	18%	18%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4. Orientations are defined in Table 3.6.

The interactive effects of the orientations vary by aspect of direction. Jointly they account for 17% of the variance in both horizontal and vertical up conversations; they have no linear relationship with vertical down conversations.

In accounting for horizontal conversations, the parent orientation has an effect only in the high citizen condition. The citizen orientation has an effect in both conditions of parent orientation, but has a stronger effect in the high parent condition.

In contrast, the citizen orientation has an effect on vertical up conversations only in the low parent condition. The parent orientation has a stronger effect in the low citizen condition, but has some effect also in the high citizen condition.

The high parent, low citizen group has the highest degree of vertical down conversation--just as it had more of two aspects of initiative: R seeks and R is sought.

Demographic Characteristics

Tables 6.2 through 6.6 give the data on direction of informal communication by orientations and demographic characteristics.

The average effect of the parent orientation on variance in horizontal conversations is 8%. Among those of low education and high citizen orientation this increases to 28%.

On the average, the parent orientation accounts for 12% of variance in vertical up conversations. Among those who are young and of low citizen orientation, 24% of the variance is accounted for by the parent orientation.

The parent orientation on the average had very little relationship with vertical down conversations, averaging only 2%. We find among the demographic characteristics that only in the combination of long time residents and low citizen orientation is the figure raised much, and then only to 8%.

Among older persons of high parent orientation, the citizen orientation accounts for 28% of the variance in horizontal conversations, in comparison with an average of 12%.

In accounting for vertical up conversations, the citizen orientation makes a difference of 23% among those males of low parent orientation, in contrast to an average of 6%.

The citizen orientation is generally negatively correlated with vertical down conversations. This is strongest among those with low education of high parent orientation, where the difference by citizen orientation amounts to 12%.

Age and sex have the highest indepdendent relationships with horizontal conversations. Age averages 16%. Sex averages 14%. Length of residence has a negative relationship with horizontal conversations, averaging about 5%. The short time residents show more horizontal conversations than the long time residents.

The effect of age on horizontal conversations is most pronounced among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. The effect of sex on horizontal conversations is greatest among those of high parent, high citizen orientation. In the former there is a difference of 30% between young and old persons, and in the latter instance there is a difference of 20% between males and females.

Sex has the highest independent relationship with vertical up conversations. However, the relationship is negative, averaging about 9%. Males of high citizen orientation, and particularly those of low parent, high citizen orientation, show more vertical up conversations than females.

This furnishes an interesting contrast to the finding reported in Chapter V that females were more likely to seek than males. In Chapter VIII we shall have more to report on the relationship of seeking to contact school people.

The highest positive relationship with vertical up and vertical down conversations is held by length of residence, which averages about 7% and 3%, respectively.

In two groups where opinion leadership has been indicated by the persons being sought (Chapter V--the low parent, high citizen and high parent, low citizen groups), length of residence is negatively correlated with horizontal conversations but positively correlated with both vertical up and vertical down conversations.

None of the demographic characteristics have much of an independent relationship with vertical down conversations, the largest being an average 4% negative relationship between number of children and vertical down conversations.

The slight tendency for those with more children to show less vertical down conversations is most noticeable among those of low parent, low citizen orientation.

The joint effect of the two orientations on horizontal conversations is much greater among those of low education and those who are short time residents of the community. It is somewhat greater among those who are females and those who have more children.

The joint effect of the two orientations on vertical up conversations is greater among males and those with more children.

Although the two orientations have little relationship with vertical down conversations, there is something of a relationship between the two orientations and vertical down conversations among males and those of higher education. In both cases the effects are relatively small.

Of the demographic characteristics, age adds the most to the parent orientation in jointly accounting for horizontal conversations. Together they average about 20% of the variance accounted for. In accounting for vertical up conversations, length of residence adds to parent orientation more than any other. Together they average about 20% of the variance accounted for.

None of the demographic characteristics adds much to parent orientation in jointly accounting for vertical down conversations. Age or length of residence with parent orientation each average about 5% of the variance accounted for.

The combination of sex and parent orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in horizontal conversations among those of high citizen orientation, but more effective in accounting for variance in vertical up and vertical down conversations among those of low citizen orientation. The combination of parent orientation and number of children is somewhat effective in accounting for horizontal conversations among those of high citizen orientation.

The demographic characteristic which together with citizen orientation best accounts for horizontal conversations is age. Together they account for about 30% of the variance in horizontal conversations.

The joint effectiveness of age and citizen orientation in accounting for horizontal conversations is stronger among those of high parent orientation.

Length of residence is the best of the demographic characteristics in conjunction with citizen orientation in accounting for vertical up conversations. Together they average about 12%. Their joint effect is greater among those of low parent orientation.

The general negative relationship between citizen orientation and vertical down conversations is supplemented somewhat by number of children. Together they reach about 8% in a negative relationship.

The effect of the two orientations in accounting for horizontal conversations together was 17%. If we add age, this figure rises to 29% of the variance accounted for. Sex and education also add to the effectiveness of the two orientations in accounting for horizontal conversations.

While several of the demographic variables aid the two orientations in accounting for horizontal conversations, none of them add much in accounting for vertical up conversations. Education makes a slight contribution, such that the three together account for 21% of the variance in vertical up conversations, as compared to 17% by the two orientations alone.

No combination of a demographic variable and the two orientations yields any appreciable variance accounted for in vertical down conversations. The largest is a negative relationship of 7% when number of children is added to the two orientations--less than that given by citizen orientation and number of children without parent orientation.

Age and length of residence both affect the general tendency for each orientation to be more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations in the high condition of the other orientation. This tendency holds for older persons and those of long time residence.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in the low condition of the other orientation in accounting for vertical up conversations is most pronounced among younger persons and long time residents of the community. Among older persons and short time residents of the community, each orientation is more effective in accounting for vertical up conversations in the high condition of the other orientation.

Among short time residents, each orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in vertical down conversations in the high condition of the other orientation. Among long time residents of the community, however, each orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in vertical down conversations in the low condition of the other orientation.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the effect of the parent orientation on horizontal conversations is much greater among those with less education and among short time residents of the community. It is also somewhat greater among those who are younger.

The effect of the parent orientation on vertical up conversations is somewhat greater among those with more children, younger persons, and those who are short time residents of the community.

Demographic characteristics do not affect the relationship between parent orientation and vertical down conversations appreciably. The parent orientation is only slightly more effective among those with high education in accounting for vertical down conversations.

The parent orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in horizontal and vertical up conversations among younger persons if the citizen orientation is low

The parent orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in aspects of direction among short time residents of the community if the citizen orientation is low, for horizontal conversations, or high, for vertical up and vertical down conversations.

Holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations among those of low education, short time residents, older persons, and those with more children.

The effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for vertical up conversations is greater among those with more children and long time residents of the community. The effectiveness in accounting for vertical down conversations is greater among younger persons and those with more children.

The citizen orientation is much more effective in accounting for variance in horizontal and vertical up conversations among older persons if the parent orientation is high. The citizen orientation is primarily effective in accounting for horizontal conversations among short time residents when the parent orientation is low.

Similarly, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in vertical up and vertical down conversations among long time residents when the parent orientation is low.

Table 6.2 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Sex.*

Aspect of direction/sex	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
Male	50%	51%	**	55%
Female	55%	67%	57%	75%
Vertical up:				
Male	14%	37%	**	45%
Female	19%	19%	33%	32%
Vertical down:				
Male	11%	20%	**	18%
Female	20%	14%	23%	17%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and sex.

**Only nine cases of males who were high parent, low citizens were found.

Table 6.3 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Age.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of direction/sex	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
40 yrs. or more	47%	55%	37%	65%
20-39 yrs.	59%	67%	67%	76%
Vertical up:				
40 yrs. or more	22%	26%	28%	37%
20 - 39 yrs.	14%	28%	38%	33%
Vertical down:				
40 yrs. or more	18%	12%	23%	15%
20 - 39 yrs.	17%	21%	21%	19%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and age.

Table 6.4 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Education.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of direction/educ.	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
High school or less	43%	54%	56%	82%
Some college or more	62%	63%	53%	67%
Vertical up:				
High school or less	15%	23%	30%	26%
Some college or more	20%	27%	36%	36%
Vertical down:				
High school or less	19%	19%	24%	12%
Some college or more	17%	16%	21%	18%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and education.

Table 6.5 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Number of Children.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of direction/ no. of children	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Horizontal:				
1 or 2	58%	59%	55%	68%
3+	49%	62%	54%	72%
Vertical up:				
1 or 2	21%	25%	32%	29%
3 +	16%	28%	36%	39%
Vertical down:				
1 or 2	23%	15%	26%	18%
3+	14%	18%	19%	16%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and number of children.

Table 6.6 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Length of Residence.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of direction/ residence	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Horizontal:				
9 yrs. or less	49%	67%	60%	77%
10 yrs. or more	61%	55%	52%	64%
Vertical up:				
9 yrs or less	18%	15%	29%	35%
10 yrs. or more	17%	35%	36%	36%
Vertical down:				
9 yrs or less	18%	11%	17%	18%
10 yrs. or more	17%	20%	25%	15%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and length of residence.

Participatory Characteristics

Tables 6.7 through 6.10 report the data on direction of informal communication by orientations and participatory characteristics.

The parent orientation, which on the average accounts for 8% of the variance in horizontal conversations, accounts for 19% of the variance among those with high interest in nonlocal affairs and a low citizen orientation. Among those with high information exposure and a high citizen orientation, it accounts for 15% of the variance.

The parent orientation accounts for 24% of the variance in vertical up conversations among those with low interest in local affairs and a high citizen orientation. This compares with an average of 12%.

The parent orientation accounts for 11% of the variance in vertical down conversations among those with high interest in nonlocal affairs and a low citizen orientation, as contrasted with an average of 2% overall.

The citizen orientation which, on the average, accounts for 12% of the variance in horizontal conversations, accounts for 27% of the variance among those with a low sense of efficacy and a high parent orientation.

The citizen orientation accounts for 19% of the variance in vertical up conversations among those with a low sense of efficacy and a low parent orientation, as compared to an average of 6%.

The slight negative relationship between citizen orientation and vertical down conversations is strongest in the high participation condition, whatever the aspect of participation, and particularly among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs who have a high parent orientation, where there is a difference of 15%.

The only participatory characteristics which have an independent relationship with horizontal conversations are interests in local and nonlocal affairs. The latter averages about 7%; the former about 6%.

The optimum effect of the two interest variables on horizontal conversations occurs under different conditions. Interest in local affairs has its strongest impact among those of low parent, low citizen orientation, whereas interest in nonlocal affairs has its greatest impact among those with a high parent, low citizen orientation, where it makes a difference of 20%.

Both of these findings are consistent with earlier reports. We have said that interest in local affairs seems to be a functional equivalent for one or both of the orientations, having its effect in their absence rather than their presence. We have also noted that female parents of high parent, low citizen orientation with a high interest in nonlocal affairs appear to be communication leaders--and potential opinion leaders.

Information exposure has a relationship with vertical up conversations that averages about 6%. None of the participatory characteristics has much of a relationship with vertical down conversations. The highest, efficacy, averages about 4%.

Information exposure's relationship with vertical up conversations is strongest (11%) among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. Similarly, efficacy's relationship with vertical down conversations is strongest (10%) among those of high parent, low citizen orientation.

Examination of all of the tables in this chapter shows that interest in nonlocal affairs is the only test variable that has a positive relationship with all three aspects of direction among persons who are high on at least one orientation. This can be seen to hold for the low parent, high citizen group and the high parent, low citizen group. The relationships with vertical up conversations are small, however.

The joint effect of the two orientations on horizontal conversations is greater in the low participatory condition for all aspects of participation except interest in nonlocal affairs, where the joint effect is greater among those with a high interest.

For vertical up conversations, the joint effect of the two orientations is uniformly greater in the low participation condition.

For vertical down conversations, the joint effect of the two orientations on the variance is again greater in the low participatory condition. An exception is efficacy, which does not seem to make any difference.

The participatory characteristic which together with parent orientation best accounts for variance in horizontal conversations is interest in nonlocal affairs. The two together account for about 16% of the variance in horizontal conversations.

The joint effect of interest in nonlocal affairs and parent orientation on horizontal conversations is little affected by the citizen orientation. However, the joint effect of interest in local affairs and parent orientation is greater on horizontal conversations among those who have a high citizen orientation.

All the participatory characteristics combine relatively well with parent orientation in accounting for vertical up conversations. The largest joint effect is achieved by information exposure and parent orientation, which together account for about 18% of the variance in vertical up conversations.

No combination of a participatory characteristic and the parent orientation has much of an impact on vertical down conversations, the largest being about 5% when either aspect of interest is combined with parent orientation.

The joint effect of any participatory characteristic and parent orientation in accounting for either vertical up or vertical down conversations is uniformly greater in the low citizen condition.

A combination of citizen orientation with either aspect of interest accounts for about 16% of the variance in horizontal conversations. A combination of efficacy and citizen orientation accounts for about 13% of the variance.

While the joint effect of interest in local affairs and citizen orientation on horizontal conversations is more effective among those with low parent orientation, the combination of interest in nonlocal affairs and citizen orientation is more effective among those with a high parent orientation.

With vertical up conversations the combination of information exposure and citizen orientation accounts for about 12% of the variance. With vertical down conversations the small negative correlation between citizen orientation and vertical down conversations is increased to 5% by the combination of ~~information exposure and citizen orientation~~.

~~Any combination of a participatory characteristic and citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for vertical up conversations if the parent orientation is low.~~

The addition of interest in local affairs to the two orientations gives a joint effect of 25% of the variance in horizontal conversations accounted for, as compared to the 17% accounted for by the two orientations alone.

Where the two orientations account for 17% of the vertical up conversations, the addition of efficacy increases the joint effect to 23%.

No participatory characteristic added to the orientations alters the relationship between them and vertical down conversations to any appreciable extent.

Several participatory characteristics affect the general tendency for each orientation to be more effective in accounting for variance in horizontal conversations in the high condition of the other orientation. This general tendency holds when information exposure is high or when interest in local affairs is high, but it tends to also hold when interest in nonlocal affairs is low.

Each orientation is more effective in accounting for vertical up conversations in the high condition of the other among those persons whose interest in local affairs is low; but among those whose interest in local affairs is high, each orientation is more effective in the low condition of the other.

Similarly, each orientation is more effective in the low condition of the other in accounting for vertical down conversations among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs, but more effective in the high condition of the other orientation among those whose interest in nonlocal affairs is low.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the effect of the parent orientation on horizontal conversations is greater among those whose interest in local affairs is low, but greater among those whose interest in nonlocal affairs is high. This parallels the Chapter V finding on R seeks.

In accounting for variance in vertical up conversations, the effect of the parent orientation is also greater when the interest in local affairs is low.

What little effect the parent orientation has on vertical down conversations is greater among those whose efficacy is high, but also greater among those with low information exposure.

The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for horizontal conversations among those whose interest in local affairs is low occurs primarily among those whose citizen orientation is also low, and the greater effectiveness of the parent orientation among those with high interest in nonlocal affairs in accounting for horizontal conversations likewise occurs primarily among those whose citizen orientation is low.

However, the greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for vertical up conversations among those with a low interest in local affairs occurs primarily among those with high citizen orientation.

Returning to horizontal conversations, the effect of the parent orientation is affected by information exposure if we introduce the citizen orientation to show counterbalancing effects. If the citizen orientation is high, then the parent orientation is more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations among those whose information exposure is also high. But if the citizen orientation is low, then the parent orientation is more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations among those whose information exposure is also low.

In accounting for vertical down conversations the parent orientation is more effective among those whose interest in nonlocal affairs is high if the citizen orientation is low, but more effective among those whose interest in nonlocal affairs is low if the citizen orientation is high.

Holding parent orientation constant, the effect of the citizen orientation on horizontal conversations is greater among those with a low sense of efficacy and those with low information exposure.

The effect of the citizen orientation on vertical up conversations and vertical down conversations is always greater in the low participatory condition.

The converse of these interactions hold. All of the participatory characteristics are more effective in accounting for any aspect of direction in the low citizen condition. They tend to be functional equivalents with respect to aspects of direction, just as they are with all aspects of scope (see Chapter IV).

The greater effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for horizontal conversations among those with low information exposure occurs primarily among those of low parent orientation.

The parent orientation differentially affects the interaction of citizen orientation and interest in local and nonlocal affairs in accounting for horizontal conversations. When the parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations among those with a high interest in local affairs. When the parent orientation is low, the citizen orientation is more effective among those whose interest in nonlocal affairs is high, but more effective among those whose interest in local affairs is low.

When the parent orientation is low, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for vertical up conversations among those whose interest in local affairs is high. But when the parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective among those whose interest in local affairs is low.

Similarly, in accounting for vertical down conversations, when the parent orientation is low, the citizen orientation is more effective among those who have a high interest in nonlocal affairs. Among those whose parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective among those whose interest in nonlocal affairs is low.

Table 6.7 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Efficacy.*

	Joint Orientation:			
Aspect of direction/efficacy	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
Low	53%	65%	48%	75%
High	54%	58%	57%	69%
Vertical up:				
Low	13%	32%	30%	33%
High	21%	22%	35%	36%
Vertical down:				
Low	16%	18%	15%	14%
High	19%	15%	25%	18%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and efficacy. Levels of efficacy are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 6.8 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Information Exposure.*

Aspect of direction /info. exposure	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Horizontal:				
Zero to two	47%	68%	53%	70%
Three +	63%	56%	56%	71%
Vertical up:				
Zero to two	15%	22%	26%	35%
Three +	22%	29%	37%	35%
Vertical down:				
Zero to two	18%	16%	24%	25%
Three +	18%	17%	21%	15%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and information exposures.

Table 6.9 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Local Affairs.*

Aspect of,direction /interest, loc.	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
Low	47%	56%	60%	68%
High	64%	66%	51%	72%
Vertical up:				
Low	17%	19%	30%	43%
High	19%	34%	37%	31%
Vertical down:				
Low	14%	17%	21%	16%
High	23%	16%	23%	18%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and interest in local affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 6.10 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Non-Local Affairs.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of direction/ interest, nonlocal	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
Low	55%	59%	51%	68%
High	52%	64%	71%	75%
Vertical up				
Low	15%	25%	33%	36%
High	22%	27%	38%	33%
Vertical down:				
Low	18%	14%	20%	19%
High	18%	21%	29%	14%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and interest in nonlocal affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Tables 6.11 through 7.13 report the data on direction of informal communication by orientations and attitudinal characteristics.

Among those who have a low evaluation of the schools and a high citizen orientation, the effect of the parent orientation on horizontal conversations is 28%, in comparison with the average of 8%.

The effect of the parent orientation on vertical up conversations, which is on the average 12%, increases to 36% among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools and whose citizen orientation is low.

The highest positive relationship with vertical down conversations achieved by the parent orientation occurs among those who perceive economic conditions as being good and who have a low citizen orientation. The figure is 12%, in contrast to an average of 2%. Among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools and have a high citizen orientation, there is a negative relationship amounting to 14% between parent orientation and vertical down conversations.

The citizen orientation, which on the average accounts for 12% of the variance in horizontal conversations, accounts for 26% of the variance among those with a low evaluation of local schools and a high parent orientation, and 25% of the variance among those who perceive economic conditions as poor and who have a high parent orientation.

Among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools and a low parent orientation, the citizen orientation accounts for 22% of the variance in vertical up conversations, as compared with an average of 6%.

Again, among those of low parent orientation with a low evaluation of local schools, the citizen orientation accounts for 14% of the vertical down conversations, in contrast to the usual small negative relationship. The negative relationship amounts to 14% among those who perceive economic conditions as good and whose parent orientation is high.

None of the attitudinal characteristics has much of an independent relationship with any aspect of direction. Pride averages about a 5% relationship with horizontal conversations. Perception of economic condition averages about 4% in a negative relationship with vertical up conversations, and pride averages about 3% with vertical down conversations.

Evaluation of local schools does have some impact on each aspect of direction under certain conditions of the two orientations. It accounts for 18% of the variance in horizontal conversations among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. It also accounts for 18% of the variance in vertical up conversations, but this time among those of low parent, low citizen orientation. And it accounts for 18% of the vertical down conversations among those of low parent, high citizen orientation--this time in a negative relationship.

The joint effect of the two orientations in accounting for horizontal conversations is considerably greater among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools or those who perceive economic conditions as being poor.

The joint effect of the two orientations on vertical up conversations is greater among those who have a low evaluation of local schools, but also among those who perceive economic conditions as being good.

In accounting for vertical down conversations, the joint effect of the two orientations is greater among those with less pride in the local schools.

Of the attitudinal characteristics, evaluation of local schools combines best with parent orientation in accounting for variance in horizontal and vertical up conversations. The two together account for 19% of the horizontal conversations and about 15% of the vertical up conversations.

The joint effect of evaluation of local schools and parent orientation in accounting for variance in horizontal and vertical up conversations is greater among those of low citizen orientation.

No attitudinal characteristic added to parent orientation accounts for much variance in vertical down conversations. The best, pride, with parent orientation gives only about 5% differentiation.

While the average effect of any combination of an attitudinal characteristic and parent orientation in accounting for vertical down conversations is generally low, if the citizen orientation is low the joint effect is greater.

The average joint effect of the citizen orientation and pride on horizontal conversations, or of citizen orientation and perceived economic conditions is about 16%.

In accounting for vertical up conversations, evaluation of local schools is the best of the attitudinal characteristics in combination with citizen orientation. Together they account for about 12% of the variance. No combination of attitudinal characteristic and citizen orientation accounts for variance in vertical down conversations.

The joint effect of either pride or economic conditions with citizen orientation in accounting for horizontal conversations is little affected by the parent orientation condition. However, the joint effect of evaluation of local schools and citizen orientation in accounting for vertical up conversations is much greater among those of low parent orientation.

None of the attitudinal characteristics adds much to the two orientations when three are used to account for variance in horizontal conversations. Perceived economic condition and the two orientations account for 22% of the variance, compared with an average of 17% for the two orientations alone.

The joint effect of the two orientations and evaluation of local schools on vertical up conversations is sizeable. They account for 31% of the variance, largely due to the absence of vertical up conversations among persons of low parent, low citizen orientation who see the schools unfavorably. It should also be noted with regard to vertical up conversations that those with moderate evaluations are unusually high, compared with their activity in horizontal and vertical down conversations.

The addition of evaluation of local schools to the two orientations accounts for 7% of the variance in vertical down conversations. This is not very much, but it is the most effective three variable set in accounting for vertical down conversations. In general, some interaction of the three variables rather than a total effect is more helpful in accounting for vertical down conversations.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in the high condition of the other orientation in accounting for horizontal conversations is particularly evident among those with low evaluation of local schools.

Each orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in vertical up or vertical down conversations in the low condition of the other if the evaluation of local schools is low.

Perception of economic condition affects the interaction of the two orientations in accounting for vertical down conversations. If the economic condition is perceived as poor, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other. If it is perceived to be good, each orientation is more effective in the low condition of the other orientation.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the parent orientation is more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations in the low condition of any attitudinal characteristic, particularly among those with less pride.

The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for horizontal conversations among those whose evaluation of the local schools is low occurs primarily among those whose citizen orientation is high.

In accounting for vertical up conversations, the parent orientation is more effective among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools, and also more effective among those who perceive economic conditions as being good.

In accounting for vertical up conversations, the greater effectiveness of the parent orientation among thsoe whose evaluation of the local schools is low occurs primarily among those whose citizen orientation is also low.

Vertical down conversations are best accounted for by the parent orientation among those who have a high evaluation of local schools.

The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for variance in vertical down conversations among those whose evaluation of the local schools is high occurs primarily among those of high citizen orientation.

The condition of the citizen orientation also affects the interaction of parent orientation and perceived economic condition in accounting for vertical down conversations. When the citizen orientation is low, the parent orientation is more effective among those who perceive economic conditions as good, but when the citizen orientation is high, the parent orientation is more effective in accounting for vertical down conversations among those who perceive economic conditions as poor.

Holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation has more effect on horizontal conversations among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools and those who perceive economic conditions as being poor.

The greater effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for horizontal conversations among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools occurs primarily among those of high parent orientation.

In accounting for vertical up conversations, the citizen orientation is more effective among those who perceive economic conditions as being good.

The parent orientation affects the interaction of citizen orientation and evaluation of local schools in accounting for vertical up conversations. When the parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective among those who have a high evaluation of the local schools, but when the parent orientation is low the citizen orientation is more effective among those who perceive the local schools less favorably.

The effect of the citizen orientation on vertical down conversations is greater in the low condition of all attitudinal characteristics. In fact, the relationship is positive on the average under these conditions, in contrast to the overall negative relationship between citizen orientation and vertical down conversations.

The greater effect of the citizen orientation in accounting for vertical down conversations among those whose evaluation of the local schools is low occurs primarily among those of low parent orientation. Its greater effectiveness among those who perceive economic conditions as poor occurs primarily among those whose parent orientation is high.

Table 6.11 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Evaluation of Local Schools.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of direction/ evaluation	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	high parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
Low	48%	50%	52%	78%
Medium	55%	69%	47%	70%
High	62%	52%	70%	66%
Vertical up:				
Low	3%	25%	39%	32%
Medium	25%	24%	38%	40%
High	21%	31%	24%	34%
Vertical down:				
Low	15%	29%	17%	15%
Medium	18%	15%	20%	14%
High	21%	11%	30%	22%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and evaluation of local schools. Levels of evaluation are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 6.12 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Pride in Local Schools.*

	Joint orientation			
Aspect of direction/pride	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
Low	51%	56%	56%	70%
High	60%	67%	54%	71%
Vertical up:				
Low	17%	26%	37%	35%
High	19%	26%	30%	35%
Vertical down:				
Low	14%	16%	19%	20%
High	24%	17%	26%	15%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4 by joint orientation and pride in local schools. Levels of pride are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 6.13 Direction of Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Perceived Economic Conditions.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of direction/ perc. conditions	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Horizontal:				
Poor	46%	60%	50%	75%
Good	61%	61%	59%	68%
Vertical up:				
Poor	26%	29%	36%	30%
Good	10%	24%	33%	38%
Vertical down:				
Poor	19%	15%	14%	20%
Good	17%	17%	29%	15%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4, by joint orientation and perceived economic conditions. Levels of perceived conditions are defined in Table 3.8.

School People

Tables 6.14 through 6.16 report direction of informal communication among school people by the various demographic, participatory, and attitudinal characteristics.

Of the demographic variables, only age has much impact on horizontal conversations. The younger school people show more horizontal conversations.

However, the older school people show more vertical down conversations. So do those who have lived in the district longer. The biggest difference in vertical down conversations comes with number of children. Those school people with three or more have more vertical down conversations.

Table 6.14 Direction of Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Demographic Characteristics.*

	Aspect of direction**	
Demographic characteristic	Horizontal	Vertical down
Sex:		
Male	49%	67%
Female	52%	64%
Age		
40+	45%	70%
20-39	57%	61%
Number of children:		
0 - 2	51%	59%
3+	48%	79%
Length of residence:		
9 yrs. or less	53%	61%
10 yrs. or more	48%	68%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4.

**By definition, school people have no vertical up conversations.

It appears that the school people who are most likely to have contact with parents--and members of other categories--are those most like the parents themselves in demographic characteristics.

Among the participatory characteristics, only efficacy appears related to horizontal conversations. Those school people with a high sense of efficacy are less likely to engage in horizontal conversations.

Information exposure and interest in local affairs make it more likely that a school person will have more vertical down conversations. Efficacy shows a slight relation with such conversations also.

Table 6.15 Direction of Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Participatory Characteristics.*

Participatory Characteristic	Aspect of direction:** Horizontal	Vertical down
Efficacy:		
Low	68%	61%
High	47%	67%
Information exposure:		
Zero to two	47%	43%
Three or more	52%	73%
Interest in local affairs:		
Low	52%	56%
High	49%	74%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:		
Low	51%	64%
High	50%	67%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4.

**By definition, school people have no vertical up conversations.

The effects of information exposure and interest in local affairs would appear to be due to the greater likelihood of contact with non-school persons that such (participatory) activity implies. In Chapter IV we noted that those school people with a high interest in local affairs and high information exposure had greater scope of conversants.

Horizontal conversations among school people are more likely if a favorable evaluation of local schools is held, if there is a sense of pride in them, and if economic conditions are seen as good.

Table 6.16 Direction of Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Attitudinal Characteristics.*

Attitudinal Characteristic	Aspect of direction:** Horizontal	Vertical down
Evaluation of local schools:		
Low	38%	56%
Medium	48%	74%
High	56%	64%
Pride		
Low	41%	65%
High	58%	66%
Perceived economic conditions:		
Poor	46%	56%
Good	53%	69%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.4.

**By definition, school people have no vertical up conversations.

Vertical down conversations are more likely if school persons see economic conditions as good or if they have a favorable opinion of the local schools, but most likely if they have a moderate opinion of the schools. This latter corresponds to the situation among parents of public school children (Table 6.11), where vertical up conversations are relatively high among those of moderate opinion.

In Summary

The most significant result of our analysis is that we find no variable, orientation or test variable, that is highly--and consistently--related to more than one aspect of direction. This does not augur well for our subsequent analyses of the relay function. We are not very hopeful that we can find persons who converse more frequently in a horizontal direction who also have contacts with persons closer to or farther from the schools.

The citizen orientation is the more important of the two orientations in accounting for horizontal conversations. The parent orientation has its effect only in the high citizen condition.

The citizen orientation is most effective in accounting for horizontal conversations (25% - 28%) if the parent orientation is high and any one of these conditions obtains: older, less educated, low efficacy, unfavorable evaluation of local schools, or perception that economic conditions are poor.

Sex and age have sizeable independent relationships with hrizontal conversations, averaging 14% and 16% respectively.

The joint effect of the orientations on horizontal conversations is greater among those with less education, those with unfavorable views of the local schools, and those who see economic conditions as poor.

Age and citizen orientation account for about 30% of the variance in horizontal conversations, in comparison to 17% accounted for by the two orientations. The joint effect of age and citizen orientation is greater (39%) in the high parent condition.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations in the high condition of the other holds most strongly when information exposure or interest in local affairs is high--or when interest in nonlocal affairs is low.

On the other hand, holding parent orientation constant, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for horizontal conversations among those with less information exposure. Most of this anomaly is seen to reside in the contingency that more information exposure enhances the effectiveness of the citizen orientation only if the parent orientation is also high.

Vertical up conversations are more highly related to the parent orientation than to the citizen orientation. The latter has a relationship only when the parent orientation is low.

The optimum condition for the effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for vertical up conversations is that of low citizen orientation and unfavorable evaluation of local schools. Among those persons, it accounts for 36% of the variance.

If the parent orientation is low, the citizen orientation accounts for 23% of the variance in vertical up conversations among males and for 22% of the variance among those unfavorable to the local schools.

Sex has the highest independent relationship with vertical up conversations, a negative relationship of about 9%. The males are more likely than the females to have vertical up conversations--particularly among those of low parent, high citizen orientation.

Education, length of residence, and information exposure have small independent relationships with vertical up conversations.

Those public school parents who are low on both orientation and who have an unfavorable opinion of the local schools are very unlikely to have any vertical up conversations.

But those parents of any orientation who have a moderate opinion of the local schools are more likely to have vertical up conversations. Similarly, school people with moderate opinions are more likely to have vertical down conversations.

While the parent orientation is more highly related to vertical up conversations among those who have negative opinions about local schools, it is also more highly related among those who see economic conditions as good.

With regard to both vertical up conversations and horizontal conversations, interest in local affairs seems to be a functional equivalent of the parent orientation.

In regard to any direction of conversation, any participatory characteristic seems to be a functional equivalent for the citizen orientation.

Neither orientation has much of a relationship with vertical down conversations. These conversations are most frequent among those of high parent, low citizen orientation--the same group most frequently observed to seek or to be sought in Chapter V.

Evaluation of local schools is differentially related to vertical down conversations according to joint orientation. Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, the less favorable have more vertical down conversations; among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, the more favorable have more such conversations.

Vertical down conversations among school people are affected most by information exposure, number of children, and interest in local affairs--plus the aforementioned moderate evaluation of local schools.

Chapter VII

Influence in Informal Communication

In the course of daily social interaction, one encounters many values asserted for many objects. Some of these are new values, particularly in novel situations. But others are old values. We recognize them from before. Thus for an adult in familiar situations, many values which he encounters are not new to him. If there is influence flowing in these situations is is likely to be "reinforcement."

Most of the persons we are studying here were certainly not new to school affairs. We have already narrowed the field to those who talk about schools. And in these analyses only public school parents are included—except for the addenda on school people. So reinforcement of values is likely to be the typical influence process.

We have observed influence attempts and successes by judging the manifest content of the conversation reports. An influence attempt was judged to have been made when one conversant made a value assertion with regard to some school object. Our measure of success was an explicit acceptance of the assertion by the other conversant. Knowing no more, we would do well to assume little more than reinforcement.

However, we do know something more. We have seen in Chapter V that some persons are sought out for their opinions and information. To the extent that these same persons are here seen to be effective in asserting values acepted by others, we can infer opinion leadership of more than incidental significance.

Table 7.1 shows that both the parent and citizen orientations have positive relationships with both influence attempts and influence successes. Neither orientation has as strong a relationship with successes as it does with attempts, suggesting that there is more to influence success than the simple act of attempting (i.e., the participation factor).

Each orientation accounts for 13% of the variance in influence attempts. The citizen orientation accounts for 10% of the variance in successes, compared to 7% accounted for by the parent orientation.

Table 7.1 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent Orientation, by Citizen Orientation, and by Parent-Citizen Orientation.*

	Aspect of influence:	
Orientation	Attempts	Successes
Parent		
High	46%	46%
Low	33%	39%
Citizen:		
High	46%	47%
Joint orientation:		
High parent, high citizen	50%	51%
High parent, low citizen	41%	39%
Low parent, high citizen	40%	43%
Low parent, low citizen	25%	34%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5. Orientations are defined in Table 3.6.

Each orientation retains its capability to account for variance in both attempts and successes at both levels of the other orientation.

In accounting for attempts, each orientation is more effective in the low condition of the other orientation. But in accounting for successes, each orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other orientation. For attempts, the orientations are something of functional equivalents for each other. For successes, they tend more toward being contingent conditions for each other.

The two orientations account jointly for 25% of the variance in attempts and for 17% of the variance in successes.

There is obviously a large factor of participation that these orientations are accounting for. Thus the relationships of some test variables to these criterion variables may be unexpectedly small, given the control by orientations.

Demographic Characteristics

Tables 7.2 through 7.6 report the extent of influence behaviors by various demographic characteristics and the two orientations.

Both orientations average 13% of the variance in attempts accounted for. The parent orientation accounts for 32% of the variance among those of low education and high citizen orientation; the citizen orientation accounts for 28% of the variance among males of low parent orientation.

Among females of high citizen orientation, the parent orientation accounts for 20% of the variance in influence successes, as compared to an average of 7%.

The citizen orientation accounts for 26% of the variance in successes among males of low parent orientation, compared to an average of 10%.

Only age and number of children among the demographic variables have consistent independent relationships with influence attempts. Age averages a relationship of 9%. Number of children has a relationship of 8%.

Only length of residence has an independent relationship with influence success of any extent, averaging about 8%, and the relationship is negative. The short time residents tend to be more successful.

Sex is highly related to both attempts and successes, but there is a large interaction. Males show more attempts and successes among those of low parent, high citizen orientation. Females show more attempts and successes among those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

We reported in Chapter V that the low parent, high citizen orientation group contained two different kinds of initiators: males who tneded to start more conversations by giving and females who tended to start more conversations by being sought or seeking. The former would appear to be the opinion leaders in this group. The males show 15% more attempts and 21% more successes than the females.

Because the males who appear to be opinion leaders here initiate by giving, not by being sought, we shall have to be cautious in assuming that their influence is anything more than reinforcement. Some additional evidence--showing greater information exposure among these persons to be related to successes, for example--is needed before we can go beyond an inference of reinforcement.

The females of high parent, high citizen orientation, who enjoy more success than the males, did not have a greater likelihood of being sought (males were higher), but they did have a much greater likelihood of starting conversations by seeking (see Chapter V). Their role as potential opinion leaders is still in question.

The previously noted negative relationship between length of residence and influence successes is greatest among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. It is also negative, though only slightly, among those of low parent, high citizen orientation. In Chapter VI, we found that long time residents in these groups had more of both vertical up and vertical down conversations. Their potential relay function is not translated into influence success.

The joint effect of the two orientations on influence attempts is greater among those with less education and among females. In accounting for influence successes, the joint effect of the two orientations is somewhat greater among females.

Age, number of children, and education each combine with the parent orientation to account for variance in influence attempts. Jointly they average about 20-21%.

In accounting for influence successes, only age and number of children contribute anything to the parent orientation in jointly accounting for the variance. With the parent orientation, they each average about 9%.

The citizen orientation has little impact on the joint effect of any demographic variable and the parent orientation in accounting for variance on either attempts or successes. However, the joint effect of parent orientation and sex is somewhat higher on both among those of low citizen orientation.

Age combines with citizen orientation best among the demographic variables in accounting for variance in influence attempts or successes. Together they account for about 21% of the attempts and about 12% of the successes. Number of children is close behind in both instances. In combination with the citizen orientation, it accounts for about 20% of the attempts and about 12% of the successes.

Any combination of the demographic variable and citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for influence attempts when the parent orientation is low. However in accounting for success, the condition of the parent orientation makes little difference.

The combination of either sex or number of children with the two orientations accounts for 33% of the variance in influence attempts, as compared to 25% of the variance accounted for by the two orientations alone.

Sex added to the two orientations accounts for 25% of the variance in influence successes, as compared to 17% accounted for by the two orientations alone.

The general tendency is for each orientation to account for more variance in influence attempts in the low condition of the other, while accounting for more variance in influence successes in the high condition of each other. However, when educational level is low, each orientation accounts for more variance in either aspect of influence in the high condition of the other orientation. When education level is high, each orientation accounts for more variance in either aspect of influence in the low condition of the other orientation.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the parent orientation has more effect on influence attempts among those of low education and those with fewer children. The parent orientation has more effect on influence successes among those who are short time residents.

The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for influence attempts among those with less education occurs primarily among those with high citizen orientation.

The citizen orientation also affects the interaction of educational level and the parent orientation in accounting for influence successes. The parent orientation is more effective in accounting for influence successes among those with more education when the citizen orientation is low, but more effective in accounting for successes among those with less education when the citizen orientation is high.

Holding parent orientation constant, the demographic variables have little impact on the effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for either influence attempts or successes. The citizen orientation is only slightly more effective in accounting for successes among those who are long time residents.

There is an interactive effect on both influence attempts and successes between citizen orientation and level of education according to the level of parent orientation and level of education according to the level of parent orientation. When the parent orientation is low, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for either aspect of influence among those with more education. When the parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective among those with less education.

Table 7.2 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Sex.*

Joint orientation:

Aspect of influence/sex	Low parent low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Attempts				
Male	21%	49%	**	33%
Female	26%	34%	40%	54%
Successes:				
Male	29%	55%	**	39%
Female	36%	34%	39%	54%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and sex.

**Only nine cases of males who were high parent, low citizens were found.

Table 7.3 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Age.

Joint orientation:

Aspect of influence/age	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Attempts:				
40 yrs. +	22%	35%	35%	45%
20-39 yrs.	27%	46%	46%	54%
Successes:				
40 yrs. +	33%	42%	40%	48%
20-39 yrs.	36%	44%	39%	53%

*Percentages are of "high" communictors, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and age.

Table 7.4 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Education.*

Aspect of influence/ education	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Attempts:				
High school or less	21%	27%	41%	59%
Some college or more	27%	44%	41%	47%
Successes:				
High school or less	40%	42%	37%	59%
Some college or more	30%	43%	41%	49%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and education.

Table 7.5 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Number of Children.*

Aspect of influence/ no. of children	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Attempts:				
1 or 2	19%	32%	40%	46%
3+	30%	46%	41%	52%
Successes:				
1 or 2	33%	40%	40%	48%
3+	36%	44%	39%	52%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orinetation and number of children.

Table 7.6 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Length of Residence.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of influence/ residence	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Attempts:				
9 yrs or less	27%	38%	43%	56%
10 yrs. or more	22%	41%	41%	44%
Successes:				
9 yrs. or less	36%	44%	51%	54%
10 yrs. or more	33%	41%	33%	47%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and length of residence.

Participatory Characteristics

Tables 7.7 through 7.10 report the three variable analyses for aspects of influence with participatory characteristics as the test variables.

Although the average effect of the parent orientation on influence attempts is 13%, this figure is raised to 46% among those of low citizen orientation who have a high interest in nonlocal affairs. These same persons show a 20% difference for the parent orientation in influence successes, as compared to the average of 7%.

The average variance accounted for on influence attempts by the citizen orientation alone is 13%. Among those who have a low sense of efficacy and high parent orientation, the citizen orientation accounts for 34%. Among those who have a high interest in nonlocal affairs and a high parent orientation, there is a negative relationship of 28%

between citizen orientation and influence attempts.

Among those with a low sense of efficacy and high parent orientation, the citizen orientation accounts for 30% of the variance in influence successes, as compared with the average of 10%.

Of the participatory characteristics, interest in nonlocal affairs has the highest independent relationship with influence attempts, averaging about 11%. In accounting for influence successes, interest in local affairs has the highest independent relationship, averaging about 8%.

The optimum condition for the relationship of any participatory characteristic with either influence attempts or influence successes is that of high parent, low citizen orientation. Interest in nonlocal affairs accounts for 33% and efficacy accounts for 26% of the variance in attempts under this condition. Efficacy accounts for 16%, interest in nonlocal affairs accounts for 15%, and interest in local affairs accounts for 14% of the variance in successes under this condition.

Even information exposure makes some difference in successes among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. It does not have any effect among those of low parent, high citizen orientation. For now, we shall recall that our first inference about the male opinion leaders in this latter group was that their influence was probably reinforcing in nature.

We have previously observed that those persons of high parent, low citizen orientation who have a high interest in nonlocal affairs are high on several aspects of scope (total conversations and scope of conversants), on several aspects of initiative (R seeks and R is sought), and on one aspect of direction (horizontal). These persons (all female) appear to have some effective opinion leaders among them.

Yet we do find here that their successes do not reach the same level as their attempts. We also see that other participatory characteristics are related to success under the high parent, low citizen condition that were not so evident in this context for other aspects of informal communication. All along, these participatory characteristics have had most of their highest relationships to criterion variables under other joint orientation conditions.

Given this set of results, it appears that interest in nonlocal affairs is not a sufficient condition for influence success among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. Other aspects of participation are probably contingent conditions. Or, perhaps other aspects of informal communication are contingent conditions.

The joint effect of the two orientations on influence attempts is always higher in the low participatory condition, particularly where interest in local affairs is low. The participatory condition makes relatively little difference in the joint effect of the orientations in accounting for influence successes.

The participatory characteristic which together with parent orientation best accounts for variance in influence attempts is interest in nonlocal affairs. Together they account for about 30% of the variance.

In accounting for successes, information exposure and interest in local affairs best combines with parent orientation. Either, in combination with parent orientation, averages abbut 14% of the variance accounted for.

The joint effect of any prticipatory characteristic and parent orientation in accounting for influence attempts is always greater in the low citizen condition. This is especially true for interest in nonlocal affairs.

In accounting for variance in influence successes, the combination of interest in nonlocal affairs and parent orientation is more effective among those of low citizen orientation. The combination of efficacy and parent orientation is more effective among those of high citizen orientation.

Efficacy goes with citizen orientation to give the most variance accounted for in influence attempts for combinations using a participatory characteristic. Together they account for about 20% of the variance in attempts. Interest in local affairs combines best with citizen orientation in accounting for variance in influence successes. Together they average about 17%.

The joint effect of efficacy and citizen orientation in accounting for variance in influence attempts and successes is greater among those of high parent orientation. The effectiveness of interest in local affairs and citizen orientation in accounting for influence attempts is greater among those of low parent orientation. But the parent orientation does not affect their relationship to influence successes.

None of the participatory characteristics when added to the two orientations yields much of an increase in variance accounted for on either attempts or successes. Information exposure is the most useful in both cases, adding 4% for attempts, and 3% for influence successes.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in the low condition of the other in accounting for variance in influence attempts holds up when the participation variable is in the high condition. If efficacy or interest in local affairs is low, however, each orientation tends to have more effectiveness in the high condition of the other in accounting for influence attempts.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in the high condition of the other orientation in accounting for influence successes holds when the participation level is low. When the participation level is high, each orientation is more effective in accounting for variance in influence successes in the low condition of the other orientation.

Information exposure is an exception in the above instances, having little impact on how the two orientations account for either influence attempts or successes.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the parent orientation is more effective in accounting for influence attempts among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs or a high sense of efficacy, but also among those with a low interest in local affairs.

The parent orientation is more effective in accounting for influence successes among those with a high sense of efficacy, more information exposure, or a high interest in nonlocal affairs.

The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for either aspect of influence among those with a high sense of efficacy or a high interest in nonlocal affairs is found primarily among those with a low citizen orientation.

The citizen orientation also affects the interaction of parent orientation and interest in local affairs in accounting for both aspects of influence. When the citizen orientation is low, the parent orientation is more effective in the high condition among those with high interest in local affairs, but when the citizen orientation is high, the parent orientation is more effective among those with a low interest in local affairs.

Holding parent orientation constant, the effect of the citizen orientation on influence attempts or successes is always greater in the low condition of participation. For influence attempts, this is particularly true among those with a low interest in nonlocal affairs and those with a low sense of efficacy. For influence successes, this holds more for those with a low interest in nonlocal affairs and those with low information exposure.

The tendency for the citizen orientation to be more effective in accounting for either aspect of influence among those who are low on a given participatory characteristic occurs among those of high parent orientation, except for information exposure.

The citizen orientation is, however, more effective in the high efficacy condition among those of low parent orientation in accounting for influence successes.

Table 7.7 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Efficacy.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of influence/ efficacy	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Attempts				
low	22%	45%	22%	56%
High	26%	37%	48%	48%
Successes:				
Low	42%	38%	26%	56%
High	29%	44%	44%	50%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and efficacy. Levels of efficacy are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 7.8 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Information Exposure.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of influence/ info exposure	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Attempts				
Zero to two	21%	40%	35%	48%
Three +	29%	40%	44%	50%
Successes:				
Zero to two	32%	44%	32%	48%
Three +	37%	42%	43%	52%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientatinn and information exposures.

Table 7.9 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Local Affairs.*

	Joint orientation			
Aspect of influence/ interest, local	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Attempts:				
Low	21%	35%	34%	57%
High	30%	45%	47%	46%
Successes:				
Low	33%	36%	32%	50%
High	36%	48%	46%	51%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and interest in local affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Table 7.10 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Non-Local Affairs.*

	Joint orientation:			
Aspect of influence/ interest, nonlocal	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Attempts:				
Low	22%	41%	33%	51%
High	30%	36%	76%	48%
Successes:				
Low	36%	43%	37%	55%
High	32%	39%	52%	44%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and interest in non-local affairs. Levels of interest are defined in Table 3.7.

Attitudinal Characteristics

The parent orientation is most effective in accounting for influence attempts or successes in the high condition of any attitudinal characteristic. Among those with a high evaluation of local schools and low citizen orientation, the parent orientation accounts for 31% of the variance in influence attempts, as compared with an average of 13%. Similarly, it accounts for 14% of the variance in influence successes, as compared to an average of 7% among the same kinds of persons. Among those with a high sense of pride and low citizen orientation, it accounts for 15% of the variance in influence successes.

The citizen orientation is most effective in accounting for variance in influence attempts in the low condition of any attitudinal characteristic. Among those who perceive economic conditions as poor and who have a high parent orientation, the citizen orientation accounts for 32% of the variance in influence attempts, as compared to an average of 13%.

Among those who have a high evaluation of local schools and a low parent orientation, or those who have a low sense of pride and a high parent orientation, the citizen orientation accounts for 19% of the variance in influence successes, as compared to an average of 10%.

Only pride has an appreciable independent relationship with influence attempts, averaging about 6%. Perceived economic condition has a negative relationship with both aspects of influence. It averages about 5% with influence successes. Neither of the other two attitudinal characteristics has any consistent relationship with influence successes.

Evaluation of local schools has several interesting interactions with the orientations, one relative to attempts and the other relative to successes. Those of low parent, high citizen orientation with less favorable opinions of the schools make more attempts, while those of high parent, low citizen orientation with more favorable opinions make more attempts. These findings correspond with those for vertical down conversations in Chapter VI. Neither shows parallel success.

Those with moderate opinions among these two orientation groups are less likely to be successful than either of the more opinionated--the first evidence we have that a more intense attitude is related to some aspect of informal communication.

The effect of pride in accounting for influence attempts occurs primarily among those of high parent, high citizen orientation. Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, evaluation of local schools accounts for 22% of the variance in influence attempts.

The negative relationship between perceived economic conditions and influence attempts is strongest among those of high parent, high citizen orientation. In accounting for influence successes, the negative relationship between economic conditions and successes is concentrated largely among those of low parent, high citizen orientation.

Pride accounts for 16% of the variance in influence successes in the condition of high parent, low citizen orientation.

The joint effect of the two orientations in accounting for influence attempts is greater among those who perceive economic conditions as poor, and somewhat greater among those who have more pride in local schools. None of the attitudinal characteristics affects the impact of the two orientations on influence successes.

The attitudinal characteristic which together with parent orientation best accounts for variance in either influence attempts or successes is pride. Together they account for about 19% of the attempts and about 9% of the successes.

The joint effect of any attitudinal characteristic and parent orientation in accounting for either influence attempts or successes is always greater among those of low citizen orientation.

The attitudinal characteristic which together with citizen orientation best accounts for variance in influence attempts and successes is also pride. Together they account for about 18% of the variance in attempts and about 10% of the variance in successes.

The effectiveness of any combination of an attitudinal characteristic and citizen orientation in accounting for either influence attempts or successes is always greater among those of high parent orientation.

With one exception, no attitudinal characteristic adds to the orientations in accounting for variance in either criterion variable. The exception is pride, which with the two orientations accounts for 35% of the variance in influence attempts. This contribution--the best of any test variable, attitudinal or otherwise--is largely due to the effect of pride on influence attempts among those of high parent, high citizen orientation. There is no commensurate success.

The tendency for each orientation to be more effective in accounting for influence attempts in the low condition of the other orientation holds among those with less pride. It also holds among those who perceive economic conditions as good. If pride is high or economic conditions are perceived as poor, then either orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other orientation.

Holding citizen orientation constant, the parent orientation is much more effective in accounting for influence attempts among those whose evaluation of the local schools is high, and among those who have more pride in local schools.

The effectiveness of the parent orientation in accounting for influence successes is greater among those with more pride in the local schools and among those who perceive economic conditions as being good. The greater effectiveness of the parent orientation among those who have more pride in the local schools occurs primarily among those of high citizen orientation. On the other hand, the greater effectiveness of the parent orientation among those who perceive economic conditions as good in accounting for influence attempts occurs primarily among those whose citizen orientation is low.

Holding parent orientation constant, the effect of the citizen orientation on influence attempts is much greater among those who perceive economic conditions as poor, and also greater among those who have a low evaluation of the local schools.

The effect of the citizen orientation on influence successes is greater among those with less sense of pride in the local schools and among those who perceive economic conditions as poor. The greater effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for influence attempts among those who perceive economic conditions as poor is found largely among those of high parent orientation.

The parent orientation differentially affects the interaction of citizen orientation and pride in accounting for influence attempts. When the parent orientation is high, the citizen orientation is more effective in accounting for attempts among those with more pride. When the parent orientation is low, the citizen orientation is more effective among those with less pride.

The contrast in success patterns for parent orientation and citizen orientation is of some interest. The parent succeeds more often when he has unfavorable views.

Table 7.11 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Evaluation of Local Schools.*

Aspect of influence/ evaluation	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
Attempts				
Low	24%	50%	30%	49%
Medium	30%	37%	38%	50%
High	21%	37%	52%	51%
Successes:				
Low	36%	46%	44%	51%
Medium	36%	36%	33%	52%
High	32%	51%	46%	51%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and evaluation of local schools. Levels of evaluation are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 7.12 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Pride in Local Schools.*

Aspect of influence/ pride	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
Attempts:				
Low	23%	43%	37%	39%
High	29%	37%	46%	58%
Successes:				
Low	35%	47%	32%	51%
High	33%	37%	48%	51%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and pride in local schools. Levels of pride are defined in Table 3.8.

Table 7.13 Influence in Informal Communication by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Perceived Economic Conditions.*

Aspect of influence/ perc. conditions	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
	Joint orientation:			
Attempts:				
Poor	24%	48%	30%	62%
Good	25%	34%	48%	43%
Successes:				
Poor	39%	52%	36%	52%
Good	31%	36%	41%	50%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5, by joint orientation and perceived economic conditions. Levels of perceived conditions are defined in Table 3.8.

School People

Tables 7.14 through 7.16 report differences in influence attempts and successes among school people by the various characteristics.

Each of the demographic variables has some effect on influence attempts. Number of children has the largest effect; the others are relatively small. Older, rather than younger, school people make more attempts.

Only sex has much of an effect on influence successes. The females are more often successful. The difference is greater for successes than for attempts.

The large difference which number of children makes in attempts is not matched by the difference found in successes. This discrepancy is in line with the attenuation of effect for the parent orientation seen earlier among public school parents, but the parent orientation held up better.

Table 7.14 Influence in Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Demographic Characteristics.*

Demographic characteristic	Aspect of influence: Attempts	Successes
Sex:		
Male	46%	39%
Female	53	49%
Age:		
40 +	54%	44%
20 - 39	46%	44%
Number of children:		
0 - 2	45%	44%
3 +	61%	47%
Length of residence:	47%	42%
10 yrs. or more	51%	46%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5.

Participatory characteristics play an important part in the influence behavior of school people. Those with a higher sense of efficacy make somewhat more attempts. Their success is also affected by a high sense of efficacy.

Information exposure relates highly to both attempts and successes, but more to attempts than to successes. These are similar to the relationships found for public school parents.

Interest in local affairs also relates to both attempts and successes, but more to successes than to attempts. These are also in line with the relationships found for public school parents.

Interest in nonlocal affairs shows a reversal among school people. Those with a high interest make fewer influence attempts, but their efforts are more often successful. This is in contrast with the results for public school parents as a whole, for whom this aspect of participation is related only to attempts.

Table 7.15 Influence in Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Participatory Characteristics.*

Participatory characteristic	Aspect of influence: Attempts	Successes
Efficacy:		
Low	45%	35%
High	51%	47%
Information exposure:		
Zero to two	28%	30%
Three or more	57%	49%
Interest in local affairs:		
Low	43%	35%
High	55%	52%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:		
Low	52%	41%
High	47%	49%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5.

Among attitudinal characteristics, those who give a favorable opinion of the local schools make more influence attempts than those unfavorably disposed. They also show more successes, but not to the same degree as with attempts. Those school people who hold a moderate opinion of the local schools surpass those of both extremes in influence attempts and successes--particularly successes.

Table 7.16 Influence in Informal Communication among School People, by Selected Attitudinal Characteristics.*

Attitudinal Characteristic	Aspect of influence: Attempts	Successes
Evaluation of local schools:		
Low	31%	31%
Medium	57%	55%
High	50%	43%
Pride		
Low	55%	44%
High	46%	45%
Perceived economic condition:		
Poor	56%	59%
Good	49%	40%

*Percentages are of "high" communicators, as defined in Table 3.5.

Those of less pride make more influence attempts, but their efforts are no better rewarded with success. Among public school parents, those with more pride made more attempts. But they too showed no corresponding success.

School people who perceive that economic conditions are poor made more attempts and had more successes. Like the public school parents, the effect was greater for successes than for attempts.

In Summary

Influence attempts and successes, as we have measured them, clearly have a large component of participation. The consequence, in so far as influence processes are concerned, is that much of the flow is of a reinforcing nature.

Only among those of high parent, low citizen orientation with a high interest in nonlocal affairs--all of whom are females--is there a correspondence between influence success and the initiative dimension of R is sought.

Females of low parent, high citizen orientation who were seen in Chapter V to be sought do not have commensurate influence success--nor do they seem to be attempting much.

Males of low parent, high citizen orientation, observed in Chapter V to initiate conversations by giving, here are seen to both attempt and succeed. But we fail to find a relationship between information exposure and either attempts or successes among those of low parent, high citizen orientation. So this appears to be a reinforcing kind of influence.

The attempts among those of low parent, high citizen orientation are made by those with less favorable opinions of local schools. Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, the attempts are made by those with more favorable opinions. In both groups, the more successful--proportionately--are those with moderate opinions.

Similarly, the more successful among school people are those with a moderate opinion of the local schools. They also try more often, however.

Those of high parent orientation who have a high sense of pride in the local schools attempt more influence. But only those of high parent, low citizen orientation have parallel success.

Both parent and citizen orientations have an effect on influence attempts and successes. The citizen orientation is slightly stronger on influence successes.

Each orientation affects attempts more in the low condition of the other orientation, but each affects successes more in the high condition of the other.

Interest in nonlocal affairs, age, and number of children have the highest independent relationships with influence attempts.

Interest in local affairs, length of residence, and perception of economic condition have the highest independent relationships with influence successes. The latter two are negative relationships.

All of the participation characteristics account for more variance in both influence attempts and successes in the high parent, low citizen orientation than they do in any other joint orientation.

The combination of pride and the two orientations accounts for the most variance in influence attempts (35%). The combination of sex and the two orientations accounts for the most variance in influence successes (25%).

In several instances, the two orientations alone account for more criterion variance under a particular condition. Among those with less education or those who see economic conditions as poor, the two orientations alone account for 38% of the variance in attempts.

The tendency of each orientation to have more effect on influence attempts in the low condition of the other is most pronounced among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs.

The tendency of each orientation to have more effect on influence successes in the high condition of the other is most pronounced among those with a low sense of efficacy, secondarily among those with less education.

The parent orientation is usually more effective in accounting for either aspect of influence among those with high participation levels and among those with favorable views of local schools and of economic conditions.

The citizen orientation is nearly always more effective in accounting for either aspect of influence among those with low participation levels and among those with less favorable views of local schools and of economic conditions.

The tendency toward functional equivalence between citizen orientation and participatory characteristics, but not between parent orientation and these characteristics, has previously been observed to hold for aspects of scope (Chapter IV) and aspects of direction (Chapter VI).

There is one exception of note. Interest in local afairs appeared to be a functional equivalent of parent orientation in accounting for aspects of scope and direction, but does not have that role in accounting for aspects of influence.

The converses of these, which also hold, should also be noted. Infomation exposure, interest in nonlocal affairs, and favorable attitudes all are more effective in accounting for these aspects of informal communication in the high parent orientation but less effective in the high citizen orientation.

Given these interactive effects, we can see that the orientations are of significance beyond their locating function and their control function. The parent orientation indicates a role function that enhances the interests, activities, and attitudes of the public school parent. The citizen orientation does not represent such a role, except to the extent that it enhances negative attitudes. It could hardly be said to enhance lack of interest and activity.

Among school people, influence attempts are most affected by information exposure, number of children, and a moderate view of the local schools.

Influence successes among school people are most affected by a moderate evaluation of local schools, information exposure, perception of economic conditions, and interest in local affairs. Information exposure does not have the same degree of relationship with successes that it has with attempts. Those who see economic conditions as poor are more often successful than those who see them as good.

Chapter VIII

Dimensions of Informal Communication

We have been looking at the kinds of people who engage in various aspects of informal communication. We have some ideas as to the types of public school parents and school people who are potential opinion leaders and communication leaders in informal communication about the schools. Now we turn to the study of the interrelationships among various aspects of informal communication.

We shall retain the four groups of public school parents by joint orientation for comparative purposes. We still have the group of school people. We also now have a group of Others--those private school parents, preschool parents, postschool parents, and nonparents who were omitted from the previous analyses.

We have made a correlational analysis of the relationship among the aspects of informal communication based on the total number of conversations for each aspect of informal communication in which the respondent participated. Factor analyses were then made of the correlation matrices for each of the six groups.

We shall begin this chapter by looking at several groups of correlations which pertain to three questions. Is there a general communication leader function undertaken by members of any of these six groups? Is there a relay function undertaken in passing information between various levels? And, which aspects of informal communication are related to influence success when the common factor of participation has been eliminated?

Initiative and Communication Leadership

One characteristic that we should expect of communication leaders is that they would have both passive and active roles in informal communication. They should take active roles because of their interest in schools. In addition, they should be sought out by others and perhaps even given information and ideas by others because of their known interest in school affairs.

If this should be the situation for general communication leadership, then we ought to find positive correlations among aspects of initiative for one or more of the groups under consideration. Table 8.1 shows that this is not the case. Negative correlations predominate.

Table 8.1 Correlations among Aspects of Initiative.*

Aspects of Initiative	All O	LP.LC	LP.HC	HP.LC	HP.HC	Sch.P
R gives x R seeks	-.05	.03	-.07	.02	.05	.14
R gives x R is given	-.31	-.28	-.21	.05	-.19	-.07
R gives x R is sought	-.18	-.05	-.16	.17	-.19	-.01
R seeks x R is given	-.09	-.13	-.10	.05	-.10	-.13
R seeks x R is sought	-.02	.02	.27	.16	.02	.06
R is given x R is sought	-.27	-.11	-.06	-.07	.03	-.07
	(.18)	(.19)	(.18)	(.19)	(.16)	(.16)

*Cell entries are correlations, abstracted from Tables D.2 through D.7 in Appendix D. The figure in parentheses at the bottom of each column gives the lowest correlation significant at the .05 level for each group.

The only group with more than two positive correlations among aspects of initiative is the high parent, low citizen orientation group, which shows five positive correlations. None of these are significant, however. The incidence of the five positive correlations in this group is consistent, however, with the opinion leadership function assigned this group in the earlier chapters. The only negative correlation occurs for the two passive aspects of initiative, R is given and R is sought. Either passive form of initiative is positively correlated with both of the active forms.

The pairs of initiative aspects that are positively correlated in more than a few instances are two which evidence some form of reciprocity. The positive correlation observed four times between R gives and R seeks suggests the alternation of roles taken by a person interested in school affairs. He not only has something to say about schools, he also seeks from others information and ideas about the schools. The positive correlation between R seeks and R is sought suggests a reciprocity of roles in interaction between two people. One seeks from the other at one time, and is in turn sought by the other at a later time.

The negative correlation between R gives and R is given is significant in four out of the five instances in which it occurs. This would seem to indicate that for some people either an active or a passive role is undertaken, but not both.

Another way of seeing whether there is a general factor of communication leadership--which might subsume opinion leadership--is to see the amount of variance accounted for by the first factor from the factor analysis of the intercorrelations. Table 8.2 shows the contributions of the first factor for each of the six groups.

Table 8.2 Percentage of Variance Accounted For by First Factor in Factor Analyses of Informal Communication Behavior.*

Respondent group	Contribution of first factor
All others	42%
Low parent, low citizen	52%
Low parent, high citizen	54%
High parent, low citizen	68%
High parent, high citizen	53%
School people	64%

*Percentages represent the contribution of the first factor to the total variance accounted for by the factors extracted. They are higher than would be the case if they represented the contribution of the first factor to the total common variance among the aspects of informal communication. The figures are abstracted from Tables D.8 through D.13 in Appendix D.

The high parent, low citizen group has the largest contribution made by the first factor. This is consistent with our previous designation of this group as that containing potential opinion leaders among our respondents.

Only the relative standing of the groups with respect to the contribution of the first factor can be considered. The proportions of variance accounted for are inflated from two sources: The percentages represent a contribution of the first factor to that variance accounted for by the factors extracted. They would be lower if they represented a contribution of the first factor to the total common variance among the aspects of informal communication. In addition, there is an artifactual correlation between each aspect of informal communication and total conversations.

Direction

In Chapter VI we brought up the question of whether members of any of these groups performed a relay function, either talking with persons both above and below them, or talking with persons at the same level and with persons either above or below them--in terms of presumed knowledge about local schools.

Table 8.3 reports the correlations among aspects of directions. None of the correlations are statistically significant. The majority of them are negative. Public school parents of low parent, high citizen orientation have a positive correlation for each of the three pairs. Those of high parent, low citizen orientation have a positive correlation for two of the pairs. The Others group and those of low parent, low citizen orientation are negative for all pairs.

Table 8.3 Correlations among Aspects of Direction.*

Aspect of Direction	All O	LP.LC	LP.HC	HP.LC	HP.HC	Sch.P
Horizontal x Vertical up	-.15	-.13	.05	.03	-.09	**
Horizontal x Vertical down	-.14	-.11	.08	-.04	-.06	-.03
Vertical up x Vertical down	-.15	-.01	.07	.05	.09	**

*Cell entires are correlations, abstracted from Tables D.2 through D.7 in Appendix D. Significance levels are the same as for Table 8.2.

**By definition, school people could have no vertical up conversations.

The relay function that we can infer to be most often performed is that between those who are above the respondent and those who are below the respondent as evidenced by the slight positive correlations in three groups between vertical up and vertical down conversations.

Those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation show some evidence of the relay function between horizontal and vertical up. Only those of low parent, high citizen orientation show any evidence of undertaking the relay function between persons like themselves and those below them.

We did see in Chapter VI that for two groups, those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation, persons with a high interest in nonlocal affairs were more likely to engage in conversations in each of the three directions.

Influence

We saw in Chapter VII that the use of the two orientations as a control for a common participation factor tended to minimize the independent relationship of other variables with influence success. This was particularly true for the citizen orientation, which tended to be a functional equivalent for such aspects of participation as information exposure and interest in local and nonlocal affairs. The parent orientation did have the function of enhancing the effect of these variables, but after the common participation factor had been taken out, the independent effect of these aspects of participation were rather small.

In this section we add another control for the common participation factor, showing adjusted correlations between various aspects of informal communication and influence success. The adjustment is made for the number of influence attempts made, since this represents a part of the total participation factor.

The usefulness of this control will soon be evident. We can exemplify its need by recalling the common observation that most influence occurs in personal contact among persons of similar characteristics (i.e., in horizontal conversations)--an observation that has led some to also infer that horizontal conversations are more effective than other kinds of conversations in accomplishing influence success. This is not necessarily the case. That most influence occurs in horizontal conversations does not imply that horizontal conversations are more effective than other kinds of conversations. It may simply reflect a greater number of horizontal conversations held.

Table 8.4 gives the adjusted correlations between the various aspects of informal communication and influence success.

None of the aspects of scope have much correlation with success once the adjustment has been made for total attempts made. The only residual of note is between total conversations and success among those low parent, low citizen orientation.

Given these findings, we would suggest that the presumed relationships of scope of topics and conversants with influence success reside primarily in the greater amount of influence attempts by persons who have more scope of topics and conversants.

Aspects of initiative show more important residual relationships with success. R gives is highly correlated with success in four of the six groups after the adjustment has been made for attempts. It falls short only among those of high parent, low citizen orientation and school people. The correlation between R gives and success among those of low parent, high citizen orientation is consistent with the results of the

Table 8.4 Correlation of Other Informal Communication Behaviors with Influence Successes, Adjusted for Influence Attempts.*

	Adjusted correlation with success among:					
Behavior	Others	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen	School people
Scope:	-.06	.09	.03	.00	.01	-.01
Scope: topics	-.02	.01	-.01	-.02	-.11	-.02
Scope: conversants	-.01	.05	-.02	.01	-.03	.02
Initiative: R gives	.20	.28	.16	-.01	.11	.03
Initiative: R seeks	-.06	.05	.04	-.03	-.02	.12
Initiative: R is given	-.18	-.13	-.13	-.13	-.10	-.16
Initiative: R is sought	-.06	-.09	-.04	.10	.00	.00
Direction: horizontal	-.11	.06	.02	.01	.08	.00
Direction: vertical up	-.01	-.04	.02	-.15	-.09	**
Direction: vertical down	.11	-.10	-.03	-.13	-.03	-.05
	(.66)	(.61)	(.73)	(.72)	(.77)	(.60)

*Cell entries represent the difference between the obtained correlation and an "expected" correlation. The latter was calculated by using the correlation between influence attempts and influence successes as a multiplier on the correlation between each aspect of informal communication and influence attempts. For example, in the category of "Others" the observed correlation between total conversations and successes was .36; the expected correlation was .42; this gives a difference of -.06. The correlations on which this analysis is based are found in Tables D.2 through D.7 in Appendix D. The multiplier (the correlation for each group between influence attempts and successes) is given at the bottom of each column.

**By definition, school people could have no vertical up conversations.

previous chapter in which we saw that males of low parent, high citizen orientation, who had been previously noted to be high on R gives as a form of initiative, were also high on influence success.

R seeks has some independent effect on influence success among those of low parent orientation regardless of the citizen orientation. Its greatest effect, however, is among school people. We noted in Chapter III that school people were higher than public school parents on every aspect of initiative except R seeks. Here we see that those few who do initiate by seeking tend to have more success.

There is a consistent failure for influence success to be commensurate with the relationship between R is given and attempts over all six groups.

R is sought as a form of initiative is related to success after the adjustment only among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, a group which we had already noted to evidence opinion leadership by being sought more often than other groups, particularly among those group members with a high interest in nonlocal affairs.

With respect to aspects of direction, the two groups which have appeared to contain opinion leaders show no adjusted correlation between horizontal conversations and influence success. This leads us to point out that the pair of inferences noted earlier in this section are not compatible. Just because most influence occurs in conversations of a horizontal direction does not imply that horizontal conversations are more effective than other kinds of conversations in achieving influence success. That is, they may be a necessary condition for some persons to achieve success, but they are not a sufficient condition such that their independent effect would be greater than the independent effect of some other variable.

Although it is no surprise that influence success is not more likely when conversing with someone of presumably more knowledge about the schools, it is something of a surprise to find that in only one group is there a positive correlation between vertical down conversations and influence success, given the adjustment for number of attempts made.

The one group in which vertical down conversation does lead to more influence success is the Others group (private school parents, preschool parents, postschool parents, and nonparents).

These findings with regard to vertical up and vertical down conversations are suggestive in conjunction with the findings of the previous section on direction--the relay function. The relay function undertaken by those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation does not evidence itself in influence success for conversations in these directions.

Factor Analyses

In this section we shall present the results of our factor analyses of informal communication behaviors for the six groups. We shall report each factor analysis individually, noting similarities and contrasts with previous results for these groups. Then we shall give an overall survey of the factor structures for all six groups, noting consistencies across all groups and specific factors for various groups.

Table 8.5 reports the factor structure for the Others group.

Table 8.5 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for Others (Orthogonal Rotation).*

Behavior	Loading on factor: 1	2	3	4	5
8. Direction: horizontal	87	13	12	-20	-22
1. Scope: total conversations	79	23	06	44	21
3. Scope: conversants	75	02	-03	28	09
2. Scope: topics	68	27	-10	24	07
11. Influence: attempts	48	58	-09	12	38
12. Influence: successes	15	75	-05	07	38
4. Initiative: R gives	15	90	06	-06	-16
6. Initiative: R is given	44	-36	-78	00	10
7. Initiative: R is sought	25	-24	77	-02	20
9. Direction: vertical up	08	-01	-16	89	-13
5. Initiative: R seeks	30	02	19	69	21
10. Direction: vertical down	00	10	11	01	92

*This is a varimax rotation of the principal components factor analysis reported in Table D.8 of Appendix D. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined. "Others" are communicators who are private school parents, preschool parents, postschool parents, or nonparents.

The first factor consists of the scope variables, horizontal conversations, influence attempts (but not successes), and the R is the given form of initiative. This would seem to be a passive communication factor.

The second factor consists primarily of the two influence aspects and R gives as a form of initiative. This second factor is consistent with the picture given by the previous table in which we saw that for this group R gives was highly correlated to influence success, even after the adjustment for number of attempts was made.

The third factor is simply a contrasting of the initiative aspects of R is given and R is sought. The person who is sought is not given. The person who is given is not sought.

The fourth factor consists primarily of R seeks and vertical up conversations, with some loadings among the scope variables.

Vertical down conversations dominate the fifth factor, which also has some loadings for influence attempts and successes.

The heterogeneous nature of this group, which consists of four different kinds of persons, is evident in the factor structure. We have a portion of this group, probably the lowest among the four in terms of stipulated direction, who seek in a vertical up manner and who have no influence. We have some persons who are relatively high, probably either private school parents or preschool parents, who converse with persons lower in the stipulated direction order than they are, who give, and with some success in influencing these persons lower in the order than themselves.

Table 8.6 gives the factor sturcture for the low parent, low citizen group.

The first factor is a rather comprehensive one including aspects of scope, horizontal conversations, influence attempts and successes, and the R gives form of initiative. The focusing of the factor around R gives, followed by the two aspects of influence parallels the finding reported in Table 8.4 where we noted an adjusted residual correlation between R gives and influence success.

The second factor consists primarily of seeking behavior among persons like oneself--that is, in horizontal conversations. Vertical down conversations are negatively loaded on this factor.

Table 8.6 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for Low Parent, Low Citizen Group (Orthogonal Rotation).*

Behavior	1	2	3	4
4. Initiative: R gives	84	-16	-29	-05
11. Influence: Attempts	79	04	13	12
12. Influence: successes	78	10	-18	-08
1. Scope: Total conversations	75	22	44	34
8. Direction: horizontal	70	42	48	08
2. Scope: topics	57	-19	40	07
3. Scope: conversants	57	25	28	45
5. Initiative: R seeks	21	62	01	17
10. Direction: vertical down	19	-79	16	06
6. Initiative: R is given	-07	-15	91	-03
7. Initiative: R is sought	17	27	09	60
9. Direction: vertical up	-10	-13	-10	84

*This is a varimax rotation of the principal components factor analysis reported in Table D.9 of Appendix D. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ±.40 or higher are underlined.

Factor three is the passive communication factor, including the various aspects of scope, horizontal directions, and focusing primarily on the initiative form of R is given.

The fourth factor consists primarily of these persons being sought by persons higher up than they, i.e., school people. There is no accompanying influence, however.

Table 8.7 gives the factor structure for the low parent, high citizen group.

The first factor here is a new kind of active communication and opinion leader factor. It focuses on horizontal conversations and total conversation, includes the other aspects of scope, some influence attempts and successes, and is primarily characterized by high loadings on R is sought and R seeks.

The factor structure strongly suggests that here are the females of low parent, high citizen orientation whom we had previously observed to be high on both R is sought and R seeks, but who show relatively little influence attempts and successes in comparison to males.

The second factor is the effective influence factor, focusing on R gives as a form of initiative, but indicating the downward aspect of their influence by scope of conversants and the loading on vertical down.

This factor is probably representative of the males of low parent, high citizen orientation whom we had seen to be influential, and high on R gives.

It should be noted that the structure of the second factor is somewhat at odds with the analysis reported in Table 8.4. From the results there, one would not be led to believe that there is a positive correlation between either scope of conversants or vertical down conversations and influence success. The adjusted correlations reported there were both negative.

The reason for the anomaly is that the factor analysis does not extract the common participation factor as it appears in the intercorrelations. The implication of the Table 8.4 results is not that we

Table 8.7 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for Low Parent, High Citizen Group (Orthogonal Rotation).*

	Loading on factor:			
Behavior	1	2	3	4
8. Direction: Horizontal	85	30	31	01
1. Scope: total conversations	81	37	32	24
7. Initiative: R is sought	79	-26	-09	-11
5. Initiative: R seeks	69	09	-14	47
3. Scope: conversants	60	41	43	01
11. Influence: attempts	39	68	21	34
12. Influence: successes	28	71	-03	34
10. Direction: vertical down	-06	47	30	-10
4. Initiative: R gives	00	86	-15	-07
2. Scope: topics	34	15	52	32
6. Initiative: R is given	04	-08	94	05
9. Direction: vertical up	00	03	13	87

*This is a varimax rotation of the principal components factor analysis reported in Table D.10 of Appendix D. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined.

should dismiss scope of conversants and vertical down conversations as part of the influence configuration for this group. Rather, we should simply avoid the inference that these variables have an independent functional relationship with influence success.

Such contrasts in results between the factor analyses and the results of Table 8.4 should be viewed as indications of a distinction between necessary and sufficient conditions. Table 8.4 may rule out the possibility of a variable being a sufficient condition for influence success. It does not remove it as a possibility for being a necessary condition in which other variables provide the sufficient condition for success.

Factor three appears to be an attenuated version of the passive communication factor noted in the previous groups. It focuses on R is given and is accompanied by the scope variables and horizontal conversations.

The fourth factor centers primarily on vertical up conversations, i.e., with school people and on R seeks as a form of initiative. There is some indication of influence attempts and successes. It would appear that those who seek out school persons among this group may have some success in influencing them.

One can see that the inclusion of influence attempts and successes with R seeks and vertical up conversations on the fourth factor is also inconsistent with the findings in Table 8.4, although at least the residuals are positive for these aspects of informal communication.

Table 8.8 reports the factor structure for the high parent, low citizen group.

The first factor here looks very much like the first factor for the low parent, high citizen group, except that it has high loadings on influence attempts and successes. Otherwise, the scope variables, horizontal conversations, and the two initiative aspects of R seeks and R is sought are present.

The results of the analysis given in Table 8.4 would caution us to avoid the inference that R seeks is independently related to influence success among these high parent, low citizen orientation persons.

The second factor resembles the passive communication factor noted

Table 8.8 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for High Parent, Low Citizen Group (Orthogonal Rotation).*

	Loading on factor:		
Behavior	1	2	3
8. Direction: horizontal	83	10	39
1. Scope: total conversations	81	32	42
5. Initiative: R seeks	74	16	-17
7. Initiative: R is sought	67	-18	18
3. Scope: conversants	67	27	46
2. Scope: topics	54	39	33
11. Influence: attempts	53	24	65
12. Influence: successes	47	-11	57
10. Direction: vertical down	11	58	-16
6. Initiative: R is given	14	81	12
9. Direction: vertical up	-13	55	46
4. Initiative: R gives	17	-02	85

*This is a varimax rotation of the principal components factor analysis reported in Table D.11 of Appendix D. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underline.

in other factor structures, with the important exception that it has high loadings for vertical down and vertical up conversations.

The third factor is an influence factor focusing around R gives, even though we saw in Table 8.4 that there was no independent relationship of R gives with influence success. The scope variables, horizontal conversations and vertical up conversations are also included in this factor. We saw earlier that vertical up conversations had no independent relationship with influence success.

The factor structure for this group gives a picture of opinion leadership consistent with a two-step flow of communication model. These persons are given information and ideas from school people and from the other nonpublic school parents. They are influential among persons like themselves who seek them out or to whom they give their opinions.

However, it must be clearly stated that of the elements in this two-step flow, only the fact that the respondent is sought out by someone has an independent relationship with influence success. The relay function for both vertical up and vertical down conversations, horizontal conversations, and the use of R gives as a form of initiative are unrelated independently to influence success among members of this group.

Table 8.9 reports the factor structure for the high parent, high citizen group.

The first factor is an influence factor focusing on R gives as the form of initiative involved.

The second factor is primarily the correlation between R seeks and vertical up conversations, as these persons tend to seek largely from school people, the only group above them.

The third factor is the passive communication factor focusing on R is given.

The fourth factor shows the respondent being sought by someone lower in level. There is no influence involved.

Table 8.9 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for High Parent, High Citizen Group (Orthogonal Rotation).*

	Loading on factor:			
Behavior	1	2	3	4
4. Initiative: R gives	89	-13	-12	-07
12. Influence: successes	84	06	03	08
11. Influence: attempts	84	18	23	12
8. Direction: horizontal	79	11	43	-15
1. Scope: total conversations	72	43	46	13
2. Scope: topics	37	24	52	25
3. Scope: conversants	33	15	62	07
6. Initiative: R is given	-08	-05	91	00
9. Direction: vertical up	-11	66	23	29
5. Initiative: R seeks	26	80	-05	-13
7. Initiative: R is sought	-03	36	09	61
10. Direction: vertical down	08	-12	03	83

*This is a varimax rotation of the principal components factor analysis reported in Table D.12 of Appendix D. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined.

Table 8.10 gives the factor structure for school people.

Their first factor is an influence factor with the R gives form of initiative highly loaded, along with scope and horizontal direction.

Their second factor is the passive communication factor, focusing on R is given, and including the various aspects of scope, horizontal conversations, and some influence attempts--but not influence successes.

Table 8.10 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for School People (Orthogonal Rotation).*

	Loading on factor:			
Behavior	1	2	3	4
12. Influence: successes	83	-05	19	-02
11. Influence: attempts	75	35	34	-03
4. Initiative: R gives	64	13	03	38
2. Scope: topics	48	50	39	25
8. Direction: horizontal	44	64	-02	47
1. Scope: total conversations	39	60	50	43
3. Scope: conversants	30	57	42	33
6. Initiative: R is given	-07	91	-05	-20
7. Initiative: R is sought	11	10	82	00
10. Direction: vertical down	00	12	84	12
5. Initiative: R seeks	04	-05	14	89

*This is a varimax rotation of the principal components factor analysis reported in Table E.13 of Appendix D. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined.

Their third factor shows school people being sought by persons lower in direction level, with rather large components of scope, some influence attempts, but relatively little influence success.

The fourth factor focuses on their seeking behavior in horizontal conversations.

A Summary of the Factor Analyses

There are two factors which appear for all six groups in fairly clear form. There is an active communication factor focusing on R gives, with more or less influence success, including all aspects of scope, and primarily in the horizontal direction. There is a passive communication factor, again in the horizontal direction, including all aspects of scope, with R is given, but with no influence involved.

There is a factor that combines R seeks and vertical up conversations that appears among three groups--the Others, those of low parent, high citizen orientation, and those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

Three of the groups have a factor which includes R is sought with vertical down conversations--the Others, those of high parent, high citizen orientation, and school people. Usually there is no influence success involved.

Two of the groups have a factor in which R seeks and horizontal conversations are found together--those of low parent, low citizen orientation and school people.

Two groups--those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation--have a factor of communication activity including all aspects of scope, horizontal conversations, and some influence, that also includes both R seeks and R is sought.

There are two completely idiosyncratic factors. Among those of low citizen, low parent orientation there is a factor containing R is sought and vertical up conversations. Among the Others group there is a factor which consists of a large negative relationship between R is given and R is sought.

In Summary

We did not find much evidence for there being communication leaders of comprehensive stature. Generally, the same persons did not initiate conversations actively and passively. Those who give are not the same persons as those who are given. Those who give are not often the ones who are sought.

There are several evidences of reciprocity, however. For one person, there may be alternation of giving and seeking. For two persons there may be alternation of seeking and being sought.

The high parent, low citizen orientation group is the group where an indication of communication leadership is found. These persons show slight positive correlations between five of six pairs of initiative forms. They also have the most variance accounted for by the first factor derived in the factor analyses.

The relay function of communication leadership is largely unfulfilled by any one type of person. The same persons do not talk with persons at more than one direction level--i.e. up and down, or horizontal and up or down.

The low parent, high citizen group does have positive correlations for each pair of direction aspects; but none of the correlations are significant.

The relay function most likely to be filled by a public school parent group is that indicated by a positive correlation between vertical up and vertical down conversations.

When an adjustment is made on influence success to remove the effect of more influence attempts among those who participate more, several findings of some importance emerge.

Scope is generally unrelated to influence success among all groups studied except those of low parent, low citizen orientation--whose participation is low. Thus greater scope has some meaning for these people.

The initiative form of R gives is related to success after the adjustment for all groups except those of high parent, low citizen orientation. This last group shows a relationship between R is sought and success after the adjustment. None of the other groups do.

Among school people, those who initiate by seeking are more often successful. But we have seen that this is an infrequent form of initiative for school people.

The two groups in which opinion leadership had been earlier inferred --those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation--show no relationship of size between horizontal conversations and success in influence.

We have concluded from this finding that although most influence success may occur in horizontal conversations, the inference can not be drawn that horizontal conversations are more effective than other types of conversations in achieving influence success.

There is only one instance in which vertical up or vertical down conversation is related to success after the adjustment. Among Others, vertical down conversations are related to success.

In our factor analyses of the correlations among aspects of informal communication for each group, we find two factors common to every group:

1. An active communication factor, including all aspects of scope, horizontal conversations, R gives, and influence attempts and successes.

2. A passive communication factor, including all aspects of scope, horizontal conversations, R is given, and no influence variables.

Influence success appears in several other factors, which vary from one group to another:

1. Among Others, influence is associated with vertical down

conversations.

2. Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, influence is associated with vertical up conversations and R seeks.

3. Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation, influence is associated with R is sought--along with R seeks, horizontal conversations, and all aspects of scope. Only R is sought seems to be distinctive to this configuration.

A factor that combines R seeks with vertical up conversations is found for three groups: Others, those of low parent, high citizen orientation, and those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

A factor that combines R seeks with horizontal conversations is found for two groups: those of low parent, low citizen orientation and school people.

Three groups have a factor that combines R is sought with vertical down conversations: Others, those of high parent, high citizen orientation, and school people. But there is no influence involved.

We would conclude from this analysis that dissemination of information about schools is primarily dependent on the participation of these individuals, and the attendant interests of the conversants. Although some persons participate heavily, there is no indication that they perform relay functions to any appreciable extent. The same persons do not often both get and give. The same persons do not often converse with more than one kind of person.

We would also conclude that there are different forms of opinion leadership (exemplified by the rleationships of R gives, R seeks, and R is sought to influence success), and that there are different kinds of opinion leaders (as exemplified by the various orientation groups that contain successful influencers).

Chapter IX

Style of Informal Communication

Having looked at conversations as a whole, we now turn to the question of what goes on within the conversation. How is it conducted--what is the give and take? What is the message content--fact or fancy, self assertion or report?

This chapter covers the style, the give and take of the conversants. The next chapter covers message content. In both, indexes of style or message content are related to the twelve dimensions of informal communication (aspects of scope, initiative, direction, and influence) for all communicators. Then they are related to selected communicator characteristics among school people and among public school parents, where the two orientations are again used to identify significant groups.

In all, some 14, 825 statements have been coded for this analysis, representing the content of more than 2,000 conversations. After extensive training sessions, three-person coding teams analyzed the same sample of conversations. Their degree of agreement exceeded .90 in coding the style variables. In coding the message content variables, their degree of agreement exceeded .80.[1]

The lower figure for message content is due primarily to the difficulty in coding verifiability of the statements. A subsequent check on coding reliability was made during the course of the coding operation. Two methods were used. Initial assessments of agreement from coders analyzing data from one study district were reconfirmed among different coders analyzing message data from other districts.

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[1] The measure of coder agreement was the ratio of the number of items coded the same by all three coders, plus one-half the number of items coded the same by two of the three coders, over the total number of items coded.

Secondly, a spot check of coder agreement was made throughout the content coding period. The teams were given samples of messages. All coded the samples and the degree of agreement was reassessed. Disagreement remained minimal.

Indexes of Style

We constructed two style indexes. The first, a communicator-receiver index, gives the proportion of all content in a conversation in which the respondent was the communicator, that is, those statements in which he was giving information or opinion, or in which he was being sought by someone else for information or opinion. The second index was a giver-seeker index, which measures the part of the respondent's own content that is giving rather than seeking.

The second ratio highlights a methodological problem with which we had to cope. No respondent did much absolute seeking relative to giving. Questions occur far less frequently in informal discourse than declarative statements. But what was important was not the absolute ratio of giving to seeking, but rather the ratio relative to other communicators' ratios.

To handle this problem the ratios were computed for all respondents in each of the five districts. Then the ratio for each communicator was compared with the ratio for his school district. The direction of the deviation of each communicator's ratio from the mean for the district was noted. The criterion variable is the proportion of respondents of a given type whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

Table 9.1 gives the distribution of communicator style attributes for the five school districts. The distributions are quite similar across districts.

Table 9.1 Distribution of Communicator Style Attributes by School District.*

	School district:				
Style attribute	A	B	C	D	E
R gives	41%	43%	39%	39%	46%
R seeks	7%	6%	8%	6%	6%
R is given	46%	45%	47%	49%	42%
R is sought	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(N=2473)	(N=2821)	N=2409)	(N=4184)	(N=2938)

*Cell entries are proportions of all statements from reconstructed conversations that are of the category stated.

In comparison to the aspects of initiative noted for beginning conversations in Chapter V, it can be seen that there is less seeking by the respondent or from the respondent within conversations than there was in getting the conversation started.

The fact that for the five districts there is a higher proportion of R is given statements than R gives statements reflects the conversations in which there were more than two conversants, so that any one respondent controlled somewhat less than half of the conversation content.

Style and Dimensions of Informal Communication

In this section we show the differences in communicator-receiver ratios and giver-seeker ratios by various dimensions of informal communication. The sample includes all communicators.

Table 9.2 shows the relationship of the communicator-receiver index and the giver-seeker index to various aspects of scope.

Table 9.2 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Aspect of Scope.*

Aspect of scope	CRI	GSI
Total conversations:		
One (N=225)	64%	75%
Two (N=245)	59%	69%
Three (N=171)	62%	67%
Four or more (N=134)	63%	62%
Topics:		
One (N=208)	61%	70%
Two (N=195)	60%	67%
Three (N=216)	61%	69%
Four or more (N=216)	65%	69%
Conversants:		
One (N=302)	65%	74%
Two (N=280)	59%	65%
Three or more (N=193)	62%	65%

*Percentages are of those whose communicator-receiver ratio or whose giver-seeker ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

None of the aspects of scope has a significant correlation with the communicator-receiver roles as indexed.

Only total conversations has a statistically significant relationship with the giver-seeker index (pc .02). Those who have more conversations tend to show less giving in relation to seeking than those with fewer conversations. A similar relationship is seen for scope of conversants, but the relationship reaches only a .10 level of significance.

Table 9.3 shows the proportions of communicators whose communicator-receiver ratios and giver-seeker ratios exceed the average for the district by various aspects of initiative in starting conversations.

Those persons who initiate conversations by giving are seen to be more likely to be communicators within conversations and givers within conversations. Both relationships are significant at the .001 level.

Similarly, those persons who had more conversations which they initiated by seeking information or opinion from someone else were less likely to have a communicator or giver ratio higher than the average for their district. Both of these relationships are significant at the .001 level.

Those persons whose conversations were initiated by their being given information or opinion from someone else were less likely to have a high communicator-receiver ratio. This is significant at the .001 level. However, they were slightly more likely to have a higher giver-seeker ratio the more conversations they had initiated by their being given information or opinion from someone else. The relationship is not significant.

Table 9.3 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Aspect of Initiative.*

Aspect of initiative	CRI	GSI
R gives:		
Zero (N=376)	52%	64%
One (N=260)	69%	70%
Two or more (N=139)	76%	81%
R seeks:		
Zero (N=514)	68%	85%
One (N=182)	53%	40%
Two or more (N=79)	41%	32%
R is given:		
Zero (N=358)	70%	65%
One (N=291)	57%	72%
Two or more (N=126)	50%	72%
R is sought:		
Zero (N=505)	56%	68%
One (N=204)	69%	71%
Two or more (N=67)	79%	72%

*Percentages are those whose communicator-receiver or whose giver-seeker ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

Those persons who had more conversations in which they were sought to start the conversations show more high communicator-receiver ratios. The relationship is significant at the .001 level. There is a similar relationship, but sharply attenuated, between the number of conversations started by the respondent being sought and the proportion of such respondents with a high giver-seeker ratio. This relationship is not significant.

The high relationships between aspects of initiative for beginning the conversation and the style within the conversation indicate consistency of behavior on the part of the respondents. The two insignificant relationships are found for the two aspects of initiative in beginning conversations that have no counterpart in the giver-seeker index.

Table 9.4 shows the relationships between the two indexes and aspects of direction. (The school people are omitted from this analysis.)

Those who had more conversations with persons at the same directional level as themselves were less likely to have high communicator-receiver ratios or high giver-seeker ratios. Both of these are statistically significant, the former at the .05 level and the latter at the .001 level.

Those with more vertical up conversations show less communicating and less giving within their conversations. Both relationships are significant, at the .05 level and the .001 level, respectively.

On the other hand, those who had more conversations with persons of a lower directional level than themselves tended to have higher communicator-receiver ratios and higher giver-seeker ratios. The first of these is significant at the .10 level and the second at the .05 level.

These findings are consistent with our assumption of greater information capability residing in those of higher direction levels, such that those communicating upwards tend to receive more and to seek more, while those communicating downwards tend to communicate more and to give more.

Table 9.4 shows the relationships between the two indexes and aspects of influence.

Table 9.4 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Aspect of Direction.*

Aspect of direction	CRI	GSI
Horizontal:		
Zero (N=95)	73%	77%
One (N=262)	59%	71%
Two (N=221)	62%	71%
Three or more (N=197)	59%	60%
Vertical up:		
Zero (N=412)	64%	73%
One (N=165)	57%	64%
Two or more (N=51)	47%	47%
Vertical down:		
Zero (N=577)	59%	66%
One (N=141)	68%	75%
Two or more (N=57)	70%	78%

*Percentages are of those whose communicator-receiver or whose giver-seeker ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

Table 9.5 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Aspect of Influence.*

Aspect of influence	CRI	GSI
Attempts:		
Zero (N=194)	57%	54%
One (N=273)	65%	74%
Two (N=193)	76%	76%
Three or more (N=115)	74%	71%
Successes:		
Zero (N=450)	57%	66%
One (N=224)	65%	73%
Two or more (N=101)	75%	72%

*Percentages are of those whose communicator-receiver or whose giver-seeker ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

There is a slight curvilinear relationship between number of attempts and the two indexes. The persons who attempt influence in one or more conversations are more likely to be high on the communicator-receiver or giver-seeker indexes. But those who attempt three or more times to influence are slightly lower than those who attempt only twice. The relationships are significant at the .001 level.

Those who are most often successful in influence attempts show higher communicator-receiver ratios, significant at the .01 level. There is a slight curvilinearity again in the relationship between number of successes and the giver-seeker index. Two or more successes stand no higher than one success in proportion of giver-seeker ratios above the district average.

The curvilinearity between the two aspects of influence and the giver-seeker index suggests that some degree of reciprocity becomes necessary for those who engage in a greater amount of influence activity.

Style Attributes Among Public School Parents

We begin by showing the relationship between the two indexes and the parent and citizen orientations in Table 9.6.

The citizen orientation, but not the parent orientation, has a relationship with the communicator-receiver index. Those of high citizen orientation tend to have more persons with a communicator-receiver ratio higher than the district average.

Table 9.6 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent Orientation and Citizen Orientation.*

Orientation	CRI	GSI
Parent:		
High	63%	64%
Low	63%	75%
Citizen:		
High	66%	69%
Low	59%	68%
Joint orientation:		
High parent, high citizen	68%	68%
High parent, low citizen	55%	58%
Low parent, high citizen	64%	71%
Low parent, low citizen	62%	78%

*Percentages are of those whose communicator-receiver or whose giver-seeker ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. The n's are the same as in Table 4.1.

For the giver-seeker index, the situation reverses. The citizen orientation has little relationship, but the parent orientation does. Here, however, those of low parent orientation are more likely to have persons with a higher giver-seeker index than the district average.

Referring to the interactions of the two orientations in relation to these indexes, we see that the effect of the citizen orientation on the communicator-receiver index occurs primarily among those of high parent orientation.

The relationship between the parent orientation and the giver-seeker index occurs primarily among those of low citizen orientation.

For both indexes, the group with the smallest proportion of persons above their district averages are those of high parent, low citizen orientation.

This is the group we have previously observed to contain persons properly designated as opinion leaders. While they may be different on some important characteristics of their overall conversation behavior, it appears that within the conversations they are most like the average communicators in the districts from which they come.

Table 9.7 gives the relationships between selected communicator attributes and the two indexes among all public school parents.

None of the attributes has much of a relationship with the communicator-receiver index. The highest relationship is with interest in nonlocal affairs, where those who have a high interest are more likely to have a communicator-receiver ratio higher than the district average. Those of low education are also somewhat more likely to have a higher communicator-receiver ratio.

For the giver-seeker ratios, males are more likely to have a higher ratio than the district average. So are those of less education and particularly those with less information exposure. Those who perceiver economic conditions as being good are somewhat more likely to have a higher giver-seeker ratio.

Among those holding a moderate evaluation of local schools, the likelihood of a higher communicator-receiver ratio is less than among those holding either a favorable or unfavorable opinion.

Table 9.7 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Selected Communicator Attributes.*

Attribute	CRI	GSI
Sex:		
Male (N=114)	62%	75%
Female (N=374)	64%	67%
Age:		
40 + years (N=228)	63%	70%
20-39 yrs. (N=259)	64%	68%
Education:		
High school or less (N=150)	66%	74%
Some college +	61%	67%
Information exposure:		
Zero to two (N=182)	65%	77%
Three or more (N=306)	62%	64%
Interest in local affairs:		
Low (N=223)	62%	68%
High (N=264)	64%	69%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:		
Low (N=330)	61%	68%
High (N=156)	68%	70%
Evaluation of local school:		
Low (N=119)	65%	71%
Medium (N=196)	59%	69%
High (N=166)	67%	68%
Perceived economic condition:		
Poor (N=201)	63%	66%
Good (N=283)	63%	71%

*Percentages are of those whose communicator-receiver or whose giver-seeker ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

With the next set of tables, we return to three variable analyses. The criterion variables are the proportions of those whose index ratios exceed the average ratio for their respective districts. The orientations are used here primarily to locate interesting relationships between the test variables and the two indexes. Because the two orientations are each related to one of the indexes, we shall make some concluding observations on the optimum conditions for those two relationships.

Table 918 shows the relationship between sex and the two criterion variables for the various orientation levels of public school parents.

Although on the average there was little relationship between sex and the communicator-receiver index, we see that, by joint orientation there is something of a difference. Primarily, there is an interaction in which low parent, low citizen orientation females are more likely to

Table 9.8 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Sex.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/sex	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
CRI				
Male	48%	59%	**	73%
Female	67%	68%	53%	67%
GSI				
Male	80%	72%	**	73%
Female	77%	71%	56%	66%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.6

**Only nine males held this joint orientation, so the percentage is not given.

have a higher communicator-receiver ratio. The low parent, high citizen orientation females are also somewhat more likely to have a higher ratio. But high parent, high citizen orientation males are more likely to have a higher communicator ratio.

The general relationship between sex and the giver-seeker index was that males tended to have higher ratios. It is shown here to hold mostly for the high parent, high citizen orientation. What seems to have happened is that the relationship of sex to the orientation levels--high, as we saw in Chapter III--absorbs much of the effectiveness of the sex differentiation with respect to this index.

Table 9.9 report s the relationship between age and the two indexes for various joint orientations.

Table 9.9 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Age.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/age	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	high parent, high citizen
CRI				
40 + yrs.	69%	60%	55%	67%
20 - 39 yrs.	59%	69%	56%	70%
GSI				
40 + yrs.	82%	65%	72%	68%
20 - 39	76%	79%	48%	68%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.6.

Although age was not related to either index over all types of public school parents, we find several interactions by joint orientation.

Age is differentially related to the communicator-receiver index among those of low parent orientation according to the level of the citizen orientation. Low parent, low citizen orientation older persons have more ratios above average. Low parent, high citizen orientation younger persons have more high ratios.

Age has a differential relationship to the giver-seeker index among two of the groups which contain opinion leaders. Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, younger persons have more high giver ratios. Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, older persons have more high giver ratios.

Table 9.10 reports the relationships between education and the two indexes by joint orientation. We observed that those of less education tend to be higher on both indexes in Table 9.7. Here we find that these relationships hold primarily for certain groups.

Those with less education have more high ratios for the communicator-receiver index among those of low parent, low citizen orientation. Those with less education have more high ratios for the giver-seeker index among those of low parent, high citizen orientation.

We saw earlier that information exposure had a slight negative relationship with the communicator-receiver index. In table 9.11 we see that this negative relationship holds primarily among those of low parent, high citizen orientation.

Table 9.10 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Education.*

Index/ education	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
CRI				
High school or less	74%	68%	55%	67%
Some college +	54%	62%	56%	69%
GSI				
High school or less	83%	88%	60%	71%
Some college +	75%	67%	57%	67%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.6.

The only positive relationship between information exposure and either index occurs among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, in relation to the communicator-receiver index.

Information exposure has its largest negative relationship with the giver-seeker index among members of the same group. The Communicator-receiver index, with its component of R is sought, might well be expected to show the positive correlation with information exposure in this condition. These are the persons who achieve influence through being sought.

Among those of high parent orientation, a high interest in local affairs is related to a higher ratio of communication to receiving. Among those of low parent orientation, the opposite is true.

Table 9.11 Communicaotr-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Information Exposure.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/Info. exposure	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
CRI				
Zero to two	63%	71%	53%	68%
Three or more	61%	59%	57%	68%
GSI				
Zero to two	80%	75%	76%	75%
Three or more	75%	69%	50%	65%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.7.

Interest in local affairs did not appear to have any relationship with either index for all public school parents, but Table 9.12 shows some interactions by joint orientation.

Table 9.12 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Local Affairs.*

	Joint orientation			
Index/ interest, local	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
CRI				
Low	64%	68%	53%	59%
High	60%	59%	57%	73%
GSI				
Low	80%	70%	59%	61%
High	75%	72%	58%	71%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.7.

The relationship between interest in local affairs and the giver-seeker index is confined to the two end categories. Those of low parent, low citizen orientation who are high on interest in local affairs are less likely to have high giver-seeker ratios, while those of high parent, high citizen orientation who are high on interest in local affairs are more likely to have high giver-seeker ratios.

Table 9.13 gives the relationship between interest in nonlocal affairs and the two indexes by joint orientation.

The positive relationship between a high interest in nonlocal affairs and the communicator-receiver index, previously observed, is seen to hold primarily among those of high parent orientation.

Table 9.13 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Nonlocal Affairs.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/ interest, nonlocal	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
CRI				
Low	64%	64%	54%	63%
High	59%	65%	65%	75%
GSI				
Low	80%	69%	56%	69%
High	74%	76%	72%	65%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.7.

We had observed no relationship between interest in nonlocal affairs and the giver-seeker index, but we see that in two groups where there are opinion leaders--those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation--a high interest in nonlocal affairs is related to a higher giver-seeker ratio.

Table 9.14 gives the relationships between evaluation of local schools and the two indexes.

The previously observed relationship that those with moderate opinions of the local schools were lowest on the communicator-receiver index is seen here to hold particularly among those of low parent, low citizen orientation.

Among those of high parent orientation, a favorable evaluation of the local schools is related to a higher communicator-receiver ratio. Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, an unfavorable evaluation is related to a higher communicator-receiver ratio.

Table 9.14 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Evaluation of Local Schools.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/ evaluation	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
CRI				
Low	70%	71%	55%	63%
Medium	50%	64%	55%	63%
High	71%	59%	61%	75%
GSI				
Low	82%	77%	52%	68%
Medium	75%	76%	59%	66%
High	80%	59%	61%	69%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.8.

The relationship between the giver-seeker index and evaluation of the local schools occurs in two opinion leader groups. Those of low parent, high citizen orientation with a less favorable attitude have higher giver-seeker ratios. Those of high parent, low citizen orientation with a favorable opinion of the local schools have a higher giver-seeker ratio.

Both indexes, then, suggest that the opinion leaders in these two groups are emphasizing different values. The low parent, high citizen orientation opinion leader is criticizing the schools. The high parent, low citizen orientation opinion leader is praising the schools.

The overall relationships between perceived economic condition and the two indexes are seen in Table 9.15 to hold over levels of orientation. There is still little relationship between perceived economic condition and the communicator-receiver index. There is still

Table 9.15 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Perceived Economic Condition.*

	Joint orientation			
Index/ perc. cond.	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
CRI				
Poor	61%	67%	57%	69%
Good	64%	62%	55%	68%
GSI:				
Poor	75%	72%	55%	61%
Good	81%	71%	61%	72%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.8.

a slight positive relationship between perception of good economic conditions and higher giver-seeker ratios. One exception occurs among those of low parent, high citizen orientation. There, those persons who see conditions as poor are slightly more likely to have high giver ratios.

We noted earlier that the citizen orientation was positively related to the communicator-receiver index while the parent orientation had no relationship to the index, and that the parent orientation is negatively related to the giver-seeker index while the citizen orientation had no effect there.

The optimum condition for the effectiveness of the citizen orientation in accounting for the variance in the communicator-receiver index occurs among those of high parent orientation who have a high interest in local affairs. The effect is 16% of the variance accounted for.

The optimum condition for the negative relationship between the parent orientation and the giver-seeker index occurs among those of low citizen orientation who have an unfavorable evaluation of the local schools. The variance accounted for is 30%.

In several cases the relationships between the orientations and the indexes are reversed. The most notable exceptions both occur when the test variable is evaluation of local schools. Among those of high citizen orientation who have a favorable evaluation of the local schools, the parent orientation is positively related (10%) to the giver-seeker ratio.

Among those of low parent orientation with a favorable evaluation of the local schools, the relationship of the citizen orientation to the communicator-receiver index is negative, reaching 12%.

School People

Among school people many of the attributes are related to one or both of the two indexes, as shown in Table 9.16.

Table 9.16 Communicator-Receiver Index and Giver-Seeker Index among School People, by Selected Attributes.*

Attribute	CRI	GSI
Sex:		
Male	65%	70%
Female	60%	67%
Age		
40 + yrs.	70%	73%
20 - 39 yrs.	63%	72%
Information exposure:		
Zero to two	60%	66%
Three or more	69%	79%
Interest in local affairs:		
Low	62%	62%
High	70%	80%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:		
Low	71%	68%
High	62%	76%
Evaluation of local Schools:		
Low	50%	62%
Medium	76%	68%
High	64%	75%
Perceived economic condition:		
Poor	58%	71%
Good	69%	72%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Tables 3.6 through 3.8.

The proportion of high communicator-receiver ratios is greater among school people who are older, who have more information exposure, who have a high interest in local affairs, who have a low interest in nonlocal affairs, who have a favorable evaluation of the local schools--but even more so among those with a moderate evaluation--and those who perceive economic conditions as good.

The proportion of high giver-seeker ratios is greater among school people who are males, who have more information exposure, who have a high interest in local or nonlocal affairs, and those who have a favorable evaluation of the local schools.

In many respects their behavior within the conversation parallels their gross informal conversation behavior, just as it does for the public school parent.

The exception to this trend seems to be the relationship between the giver-seeker index and certain variables. The school people who have a high interest in nonlocal affairs and a favorable evaluation of the local schools tend to have higher giver-seeker ratios than their gross communicatory activity would suggest.

The school people are unlike the public school parents in one respect. Their ratios are likely to be higher with more information exposure, whereas the public school parents ratios are generally lower with more information exposure.

In Summary

We have developed two indexes for what goes on during the conversations. The first, the communicator-receiver index, measures the proportion of the total content for which the respondent is dominant.

The second, the giver-seeker index, measures the proportion of his own content in which the respondent is giving rather than seeking.

Within conversations, there is less seeking by the respondent or of the respondent than there is in the initiating of conversations. But the persons who start conversations by seeking are the ones more likely to seek during the conduct of the conversation. The ones who start things off by giving their opinion or some information are the same persons who are more likely to give than get during the conversation.

Those who converse with someone of a higher direction level are more likely to receive and to seek during the conversation. Those who converse with someone of a lower directional level are more likely to be the communicator and to give.

Although those who attempt and succeed at influence are more likely to have high communicator ratios and high giver ratios, those who attempt and succeed most often have somewhat lower ratios than those who attempt and succeed only a few times. It appears that frequent influentials must exercise some reciprocity in their conversational style.

Public school parents with a high citizen orientation are more likely to have high communicator ratios. Those with a low parent orientation are more likely to have high giver ratios. That is, those of high parent orientation are more likely to show more seeking relative to giving in their conversational style.

Those of high parent, low citizen orientation--whom we have seen to be influential in that they are sought out--have the lowest communicator and giver ratios. They are closest to the average for their respective districts, indicating more reciprocity in their conversational relationships.

While sex does not on the average have much of a relationship with either index, males of high parent, high citizen orientation are more likely to have high communicator and giver ratios.

Those of less education--particularly those of low parent orientation--have more high communicator and giver ratios.

In every condition but one, those with less information exposure have more high communicator and giver ratios. The exception occurs among those of high parent, low citizen orientation in relation to the communicator-receiver index.

The low parent, high citizen orientation opinion leaders have more high communicator and giver ratios if they have an unfavorable evaluation of the local schools. The high parent, low citizen orientation opinion leaders have more high communicator and giver ratios if they have a favorable evaluation.

Among school people, information exposure and interest in local affairs are related to more high communicator and giver ratios. Females have more high communicator ratios, but males show more high giver ratios. Those with a low interest in nonlocal affairs have more high communicator ratios, while those with a high interest have more high giver ratios.

Those school people with a moderate evaluation of local schools are most likely to have more of the communicator role than the receiver role. But those with a favorable evaluation are most likely to give more than they seek.

Chapter X

Message Content Characteristics

Having viewed the give and take of conversations, we look now at two message content characteristics, the verifiability of content and the attribution of assertions.

Our objectives are to see how the aspects of informal communication behavior and kinds of informal communicators relate to whether statements tend to be verifiable or unverifiable (i.e., whether they contain information or opinion), and whether statements tend to be attributed to external or internal sources (i.e., to others or to oneself).

It is obviously of some importance to find out whether those with more scope of conversation use relatively more information than opinion, or relatively more external attributions than internal attributions in their conversational content. Similarly, we would like to know how conversations variously initiated, in different directions, and of varying influence aspects look on these content characteristics.

We shall also want to know whether certain kinds of communicators--especially those who appear to have opinion leaders among them--make greater use of information or opinion, and of attributions to others.

The Indexes of Message Content

Based on the two variables of verifiability and attribution, four types of content were coded: external verifiable, external nonverifiable, internal verifiable, and internal nonverifiable. Table 10.1 gives the distribution of the four kinds of content over the five districts.

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Table 10.1 Distribution of Message Content Attributes by School District.*

Content attribute	School district: A	B	C	D	E
External, verifiable	7%	4%	5%	6%	7%
Internal, verifiable	23%	16%	14%	20%	21%
External, nonverifiable	10%	13%	11%	11%	9%
Internal, nonverifiable	60%	67%	70%	63%	63%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(N=1199)	(N=1377)	(N=1110)	(N=1908)	(N=1544)

*Cell entries are proportions of all declarative statements from reconstructed conversations that are of the category stated.

Most frequently, content is internal and nonverifiable--that is, one's own opinions.

A relationship between attribution and verifiability can be seen. In the content that is internal, the ratio of nonverifiable to verifiable statements is three to one, while in the external content the ratio is closer to two to one.

Given the correlation between verifiability and attribution, a set of four indexes was developed to employ controls. These four indexes are: the ratio of external to internal attributions among verifiable statements, the ratio of external to internal attributions among nonverifiable statements, the ratio of verifiable to nonverifiable statements among those externally attributed, and the ratio of verifiable to nonverifiable statements among those internally attributed.

Again the ratio for each person was compared with the district average, and the person was scored as either being above average or below average on each index.

Message Content Indexes and Aspects of Informal Communication

In Table 10.2 we see that there is a positive and usually regular relationship between each aspect of scope and the use of external attributions and the use of verifiable content.

All of the relationships between aspects of scope and greater use of external attributions are statistically significant at the .01 level. The relationships between each aspect of scope and the greater use of verifiable content among those statements attributed to external sources are significant at the .05 level.

The relationships between aspects of scope and greater use of verifiable but internal statements are somewhat weaker, with only the relationship between total conversations and this index being significant at the .05 level.

The tendency for more use of external and verifiable content with greater scope fits the previously observed inference that there is a common participation factor that runs through many aspects of informal communication, including exposure to information outside the context of conversations.

The other side of the picture here is worth noting, that those with less scope tend to use opinion more than information in their conversations. In addition, they tend to speak of what they themselves think, rather than of what other people have said.

Table 10.2 Message Content Indexes by Aspect of Scope.*

Aspect of scope	E/I:V	E/I:NV	V/NV:E	V/NV:I
Total conversations:				
One (N=225)	12%	24%	12%	34%
Two (N=245)	22%	35%	19%	40%
Three (N=171)	31%	40%	29%	43%
Four or more (N=134)	39%	44%	37%	49%
Topics				
One (N=208)	16%	25%	16%	35%
Two (N=195)	22%	33%	20%	37%
Three (N=156)	28%	41%	26%	44%
Four or more (N=216)	31%	39%	28%	45%
Conversants:				
One (N=302)	17%	25%	17%	37%
Two (N=280)	25%	29%	23%	42%
Three or more (N=193)	33%	40%	31%	43%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

Table 10.3 shows a somewhat mixed picture in the relationships between aspects of initiative and the four indexes.

Those who open conversations more often by giving are significantly more likely to have a higher ratio of verifiable, internally attributed content. Otherwise the curvilinear relationships between this aspect of initiative and the indexes are not significant.

Those who open more conversations by seeking are more likely to have higher ratios of external attributions and higher ratios of verifiable statements.

For content of external attribution, the relationship between R seeks and the ratio of verifiable to nonverifiable content is significant at the .001 level. The relationship between R seeks and the ratio of verifiable to nonverifiable internal attributions is not significant.

Table 10.3 Message Content Indexes by Aspect of Initiative.*

Aspect of initiative	E/I:V	E/I:NV	V/NV:E	V/NV:I
R gives:				
Zero (N=376)	24%	36%	20%	35%
One (N=26[illegible])	26%	33%	26%	48%
Two or more (N=139)	22%	33%	22%	42%
R seeks:				
Zero (N=515)	11%	21%	12%	39%
One (N=182)	45%	58%	40%	42%
Two or more (N=79)	63%	66%	48%	46%
R is given:				
Zero (N=358)	26%	38%	24%	42%
One (N=291)	20%	30%	20%	39%
Two or more (N=126)	29%	35%	25%	39%
R is sought:				
Zero (N=505)	22%	34%	21%	37%
One (N=204)	31%	36%	26%	48%
Two or more (N=67)	18%	33%	21%	44%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

There are no significant relationships between the number of conversations initiated by the respondent being given something and either aspect of message content.

There is a regular, curvilinear relationship between the aspect of initiative, R is sought, and both message content characteristics. Those who are sought out most often (two or more times), are less likely to have higher ratios of external or verifiable content than those who are sought out only once. The latter persons are also more likely to have higher ratios than those who are not sought out at all.

In only one case does the person who is sought out two or more times have a higher ratio than those not sought out at all. Those sought out two or more times do have a higher ratio of verifiable to nonverifiable statements among those attributed to themselves.

The curvilinearity is similar to that for R gives. And both R gives and R is sought have been seen previously to be part of influence behavior for different kinds of people.

Table 10.4 gives the relationships for aspects of direction and the message content indexes.

Persons who have more horizontal conversations are likely to have higher ratios of external attributions, whether of verifiable or nonverifiable content. Among those statements externally attributed, they are also more likely to have a higher ratio of verifiable statements. However, among those statements which are not attributed to someone else, there is a curvilinear relationship between number of horizontal conversations and the ratio of verifiable to nonverifiable statements. Those who have zero horizontal conversations or those who have three or more horizontal conversations are most likely to have a higher ratio of verifiable, internally attributed statements.

Table 10.4 Message Content Indexes by Aspect of Direction.*

Aspect of direction	E/I:V	E/I:NV	V/NV:E	V/NV:I
Horizontal:				
Zero (N=95)	15%	30%	12%	45%
One (N=262)	18%	29%	17%	35%
Two (N=221)	26%	34%	24%	38%
Three or more (N=197)	35%	43%	33%	49%
Vertical up:				
Zero (N=412)	21%	30%	21%	41%
One (N=165)	28%	41%	22%	41%
Two or more (N=51)	37%	57%	25%	20%
Vertical down:				
Zero (N=579)	25%	36%	22%	39%
One (N=140)	23%	27%	24%	39%
Two or more (N=57)	21%	35%	23%	56%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

All of these relationships are statistically significant at the .05 level or better.

The more vertical up conversations a person has, the more likely he is to have a higher ratio of external statements, whether of verifiable or nonverifiable content. The picture is somewhat different for the ratio of verifiable to nonverifiable statements. Among the statements externally attributed there is little difference by number of vertical up conversations held. However, those who had two or more vertical up conversations are more likely to have a lower ratio of verifiable, internally attributed statements. This latter relationship is significant at the .02 level.

The more vertical down conversations a person has is significantly related only to the ratio of verifiable statements among those internally attributed. This relationship, significant at the .05 level, shows that those with two or more vertical down conversations tended to have a higher ratio of verifiable, internal content.

The contrasts between relationships involving vertical up conversations and those involving vertical down conversations are of some interest. There is no relationship to speak of between vertical down conversations and the use of external attributions, regardless of whether the content is verifiable or nonverifiable. But there is a significant relationship between the number of vertical up conversations (usually with school people) and a greater ratio of external attributions, whether of verifiable or of nonverifiable content.

Vertical up conversations also contrast with vertical down conversations in relationship to the verifiable, internally attributed, statements. The ratio of verifiable content--i.e., the use of information, is greater among those who have more vertical down conversations. The ratio of verifiable content is less among those who have two or more vertical up conversations. These people are giving more opinion than information.

Table 10.5 reports the relationships between aspects of influence and the message content indexes.

Table 10.5 Message Content Indexes by Aspect of Influence.*

Aspect of influence	E/I:V	E/I:NV	V/NV:E	V/NV:I
Attempts:				
Zero (N=194)	26%	32%	23%	36%
One (N=273)	23%	33%	19%	40%
Two (N=193)	21%	32%	22%	41%
Three or more (N=115)	30%	44%	30%	46%
Successes:				
Zero (N=450)	24%	32%	23%	40%
One (N=224)	22%	35%	20%	40%
Two or more (N=101)	29%	45%	27%	46%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts.

The number of influence attempts relates positively to the greater use of external attributions and to a higher ratio of verifiable content. There are evidences of curvilinearity, though, in several of the relationships, and only one of them is significant at the .05 level, that involving a greater ratio of external, nonverifiable attributions.

The relationships of success to the various indexes, like the relationships of attempts, are generally positive and sometimes curvilinear. Only one is statistically significant at the .05 level, again that involving a higher ratio of external, nonverifiable attributions.

The curvilinearity patterns differ for the relationships between aspects of influence and the indexes and for the relationships previously seen between two aspects of initiative, R gives and R is sought, and the indexes. Yet these aspects of initiative are those associated with effective influence.

A moderate amount of giving and of being sought is usually more highly related to the use of external attributions and verifiable content. But the most successful influentials show the greatest use of external attributions and verifiable content.

Those who give more or those who are sought out more may not be as effective if they make less use of external attributions and/or verifiable content.

An important finding of this section seems to be the implied inclusion of greater use of external attributions and greater use of verifiable content in the general participation factor which characterizes much of informal communication about schools.

Message Content Indexes and Types of Communicators

We begin this section by showing the relationship between the parent and citizen orientations and the four message content indexes. Table 10.6 reports the results for these relationships.

The parent orientation is psoitively related to all four indexes. Those persons with a high parent orientation make more use of external attributions and of verifiable content.

The citizen orientation shows a slight negative relationship with all but one of the indexes. Those of high citizen orientation use more external attributions in their nonverifiable content. Otherwise they have somewhat fewer proportions of persons with ratios higher than the district average.

Table 10.6 Message Content Indexes by Parent Orientation and Citizen Orientation.*

Orientation	E/I:V	E/I:NV	V/NV:E	V/NV:I
Parent				
High	29%	39%	25%	43%
Low	19%	30%	20%	36%
Citizen				
High	24%	41%	22%	39%
Low	26%	27%	23%	41%
Joint orientation:				
High parent, high citizen	25%	40%	24%	42%
High parent, low citizen	34%	38%	27%	46%
Low parent, high citizen	21%	41%	21%	35%
Low parent, low citizen	18%	17%	19%	36%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are the same as in Table 4.1.

Considering the orientations jointly, the public school parent who has a high parent, low citizen orientation is most likely to have a higher ratio of external, verifiable statements and to have a higher ratio of verifiable statements, whether of external or internal attribution.

The low parent, high citizen orientation group has the highest proportion of persons with a high ratio of external, nonverifiable statements.

This is the same group which we have seen to have higher communicator and giver ratios if unfavorable evaluations of local schools are held. It would appear that these persons are potential dispensers of rumors--of content attributed to others, unfavorable to the local schools, that is not subject to verification.

Since both the parent and citizen orientations are more effective in the low condition of each other in accounting for variance of the external, nonverifiable index, we might infer that they are functional equivalents for this purpose.

It is probably more important to note that the group which is highest on each of these four indexes is one of the two groups previously observed to contain opinion leaders--those of high parent, low citizen orientation and those of low parent, high citizen orientation.

Table 10.7 gives the relationship between selected communicator attributes and the four message content indexes, without regard to the orientations of the public school parents.

There are only a few relationships of any size. The females are more likely to have higher external attribution ratios and to make more use of verifiable content, particularly self-attributed verifiable content.

Those with more information exposure are more likely to use external sources than those with less information exposure, but only slightly more likely to use verifiable content.

Those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs are slightly more likely to make greater use of external attributions and to make greater use of verifiable content.

Table 10.7 Message Content Indexes by Selected Communicator Attributes.*

Attribute	E/I:V	E/I:NV	V/NV:E	V/NV:I
Sex				
Male	19%	30%	19%	28%
Female	26%	36%	24%	43%
Age				
40 + yrs.	23%	35%	22%	38%
20-39 yrs	25%	35%	23%	42%
Education:				
High school or less	22%	33%	25%	43%
Some college +	25%	36%	22%	39%
Information exposure				
Zero to two	19%	29%	19%	39%
Three or more	28%	38%	25%	40%
Interest in local affairs:				
Low	26%	34%	25%	38%
High	23%	35%	21%	42%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:				
Low	23%	33%	22%	38%
High	26%	38%	23%	44%
Evaluation of local schools:				
Low	26%	33%	22%	35%
Medium	25%	35%	23%	40%
High	24%	36%	24%	43%
Perceived economic condition:				
Poor	23%	36%	22%	38%
Good	25%	34%	23%	41%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are the same as in Table 9.7.

Evaluation of local schools relates to greater use of verifiable content among those statements internally attributed.

It appears that we shall have to invoke the parent and citizen orientations in order to get a better picture of what kinds of communicators make greater use of external attribution and of verifiable content.

Although females were more likely to use external attributions and to use verifiable content, we see in Table 10.8 that this tendency is not uniform.

Table 10.8 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and sex.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/ sex	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
E/I;V:				
Male	8%	23%	**	24%
Female	20%	19%	36%	26%
E/I;NV:				
Male	12%	43%	**	27%
Female	18%	40%	39%	44%
V/NV;E:				
Male	12%	26%	**	21%
Female	20%	18%	30%	24%
V/NV;I:				
Male	20%	28%	**	33%
Female	41%	40%	47%	44%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.6

**Only nine males held this joint orientation, so the percentages are not given.

Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, males are more likely to use external attributions than females and they are more likely to use verifiable content if the content is attributed externally.

Among those of low parent, low citizen orientation and those of high parent, high citizen orientation, the previously observed relationship holds.

That the males of low parent, high citizen orientation make more use of external attributions and of verifiable content (in their external attributions) is of some interest, given the previous observation that these are opinion leaders of one type.

Because males and females of low parent, high citizen orientation do not differ appreciably in their use of external, nonverifiable content, it appears that the male opinion leaders in this group should not be solely assigned the potential rumor disseminating role seen for this group.

Although, on the average, age was only slightly related to use of external and verifiable content, we find in Table 10.9 that there are several conditions under which age is related to one or the other of these message content characteristics.

Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, older persons are more likely to use external attributions for nonverifiable content. And younger, low parent, high citizen orientation persons tend to use more verifiable content for internally attributed assertions.

Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, younger persons regularly use more external attributions and more verifiable content.

This last finding is not too helpful, since we had not previously observed age to be part of the opinion leadership pattern for this orientation group.

Table 10.9 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Age.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/age	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
E/I;V:				
40+ yrs.	18%	19%	26%	29%
20 - 39 yrs	17%	23%	40%	23%
E/I;NV:				
40+ yrs	16%	47%	28%	40%
20-39 yrs.	17%	35%	45%	41%
V/NV;E:				
40+ yrs.	20%	21%	19%	25%
20-39 yrs	17%	21%	33%	22%
V/NV;I:				
40+ yrs.	36%	26%	37%	49%
20-39 yrs.	37%	46%	52%	35%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.6.

Among those of high parent, high citizen orientation, age makes a difference only in accounting for the amount of verifiable content in internally attributed statements. Older persons make greater use of verifiable content.

Overall, education was seen to be only slightly related to these content characteristics. The more educated were somewhat more likely to use external attributions and somewhat less likely to use verifiable content. These findings hold up pretty well under the orientation controls, as shown in Table 10.10.

Table 10.10 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Education.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/ education	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent high citizen
E/II;V:				
High school or less	13%	20%	33%	21%
Some college +	21%	21%	34%	26%
E/I;NV:				
High school or less	17%	44%	36%	41%
Some college +	16%	40%	40%	40%
V/NV;E:				
High school or less	20%	24%	33%	21%
Some college +	18%	20%	22%	24%
V/MV;I:				
High school or less	39%	40%	47%	44%
Some college +	34%	34%	45%	41%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.6.

The more educated are seen to use external attributions more under each orientation condition for their verifiable content. For their nonverifiable content, however, only those of high parent, low citizen orientation who have more education use more external attributions.

The general negative relationship between education and use of verifiable content holds for all conditions except for the external attribution content among those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

Information exposure was found to be positively related to the use of both external attributions and verifiable content--particularly the former. Several reservations must be made when the two orientation are considered, as shown in Table 10.11.

Among those of low parent, low citizen orientation, the more information exposure, the greater the use of external attributions and verifiable content--particularly verifiable content among internal attributions.

Table 10.11 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Information Exposure.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/info. exposure	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
E/I;V:				
Zero to two	15%	16%	27%	20%
Three or more	21%	24%	37%	27%
E/I;NV:				
Zero to two	12%	41%	36%	35%
Three or more	23%	41%	39%	42%
V/NV;E:				
Zero to two	17%	16%	27%	20%
Three or more	21%	24%	27%	25%
V/NV;I:				
Zero to two	27%	39%	64%	38%
Three or more	48%	33%	37%	44%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.7.

Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, there is more use of external attributions with greater information exposure for factual content and more use of factual content among those statements externally attributed. However, there is less use of verifiable content among those statements attributed to oneself with more information exposure.

Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, there is more use of external attributions with more information exposure. However, there is much less use of verifiable content, internally attributed, with more information exposure among persons of this orientation.

Since women of any orientation make more use than men of verifiable but internally attributed content, and we know the opinion leaders of this orientation to be women, we might infer that their opinion leadership is singularly dereft of information exposure and, necessarily, of verifiable content attributed externally.

As we shall see later in this section, interest in nonlocal affairs among members of this group is also related to greater use of verifiable but internally attributed content--a finding consistent with this picture.

Among those of high parent, high citizen orientation, more information exposure brings greater use of external attributions and of verifiable content.

Interest in local affairs did not appear on the average to have a consistent relationship with either the use of external attributions or of verifiable content. In Table 10.12 there are a few instances of more regular findings.

Table 10.12 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Local Affairs.*

	Joint orientation:			
Index/ interest, local	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
E/I;V:				
Low	13%	30%	39%	25%
High	23%	12%	30%	26%
E/I;NV:				
Low	15%	43%	30%	48%
V/NV;E:				
Low	16%	30%	37%	18%
High	21%	12%	19%	27%
V/NV;I:				
Low	34%	33%	46%	39%
High	38%	38%	46%	44%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.7.

Among those of low parent, low citizen orientation, a high interest in local affairs uniformly implies more use of external attributions and of verifiable content. In this sense it seems to be acting again as a functional equivalent for the parent orientation, which has similar relationships with these content characteristics.

Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, a high interest in local affairs brings relatively more internal attributions than external attributions. It brings with it more use of verifiable content among those statements internally attributed, but more use of nonverifiable content among those statements externally attributed.

Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, a high interest in local affairs is related to more use of internal attributions for verifiable content, but to more use of external attributions for nonverifiable content. A high interest in local affairs is related to a relatively high use of nonverifiable, externally attributed content among members of this group.

Among those of high parent, high citizen orientation, a high interest in local affairs is related to more use of internal attributions for nonverifiable content. For verifiable content there is little difference. Those with a high interest in local affairs of this orientation show more use of verifiable content, regardless of attribution.

Interest in nonlocal affairs was observed to have a slightly positive relationship with the use of both external attributions and verifiable content. There are several interactions involved when the orientations are introduced, as shown in Table 10.13.

For those of low parent, low citizen orientation, interest in nonlocal affairs is still positively related to the use of both external attributions and verifiable content. But among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, the use of verifiable content is relatively less among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs.

Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, there is more use of external attributions in verifiable content among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs, but no difference for nonverifiable content. There is a greater use of verifiable content, either externally or internally attributed, among those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs who have this orientation.

Among those of high parent, high citizen orientation, a high interest in nonlocal affairs makes a difference in only one usage, that of more verifiable content internally attributed.

Table 10.13 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Interest in Nonlocal Affairs.*

Index/ interest, nonlocal	Joint orientation Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
E/I;V:				
Low	16%	20%	31%	26%
High	20%	21%	43%	25%
E/I;NV:				
Low	13%	41%	38%	37%
High	23%	42%	38%	37%
V/NV;E:				
Low	17%	21%	25%	23%
High	20%	18%	33%	24%
V/NV;I:				
Low	35%	38%	43%	36%
High	38%	30%	57%	51%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.7.

On the average, evaluation of local schools tended to have very slight but linear relationships with these message content characteristics. In Table 10.14 we see that the relationships are no longer either small or linear. Typically they are curvilinear, with those having moderate evaluations either being highest or lowest according to the content characteristic and joint orientation.

Table 10.14 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Evaluation of Local Schools.*

Index/ Evaluation	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
E/I;V:				
Low	27%	23%	30%	24%
Medium	13%	18%	39%	30%
High	15%	26%	33%	23%
E/I;NV:				
Low	15%	45%	35%	39%
Medium	18%	37%	32%	48%
High	15%	47%	48%	35%
V/NV;E:				
Low	27%	18%	30%	15%
Medium	13%	19%	25%	32%
High	18%	26%	30%	23%
V/NV;I:				
Low	36%	41%	35%	32%
Medium	31%	40%	43%	46%
High	44%	24%	58%	46%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.8.

With respect to greater use of verifiable, internally attributed content, there are two linear relationships of some note. Those of low parent, high citizen orientation who have an unfavorable opinion of the local schools are more likely to make verifiable, internally attributed comments, and those of high parent, low citizen orientation with a favorable opinion of the local schools are also more likely to use verifiable, internally attributed content.

These two relationships parallel two earlier findings. Those of low parent, high citizen orientation with unfavorable evaluations and those of high parent, low citizen orientation with favorable evaluations were both more likely to have vertical down conversations and to attempt influence--without success. Here we see that the content of such conversations is probably verifiable but internally attributed.

For the low parent, low citizen orientation, those of moderate opinion use more internal attribution for verifiable content, but more external attributions for nonverifiable content. They use less verifiable content than do those of either favorable or unfavorable opinions.

Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, the moderates tend to use less external attributions, whether the content is verifiable or not.

Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, those with moderate opinions of the local schools tend to use more external attribution for verifiable content, but more internal attributions for nonverifiable content.

The moderates of high parent, low citizen orientation also tend to use verifiable content, externally attributed, more often than those either favorable or unfavorable to the schools.

Among those of high parent, high citizen orientation, the moderates use more external attribution and verifiable content. Neither relationship is subject to qualification under control for the other message characteristic.

We suggested earlier in this chapter that there might be some potential rumor carriers in the low parent, high citizen orientation group--which was high on externally attributed, nonverifiable content. So far only age has distinguished members of this group with regard to this index; the older persons exhibit more of this behavior. In Table 10.14 we see that evaluation--as suspected--is also playing a part. However, it is not the part anticipated. We had thought that those unfavorable to the schools would be most likely involved. They are, compared to those moderate in their opinions. But they are somewhat less involved than those of favorable opinions.

The greater use of externally attributed, nonverifiable content occurs in this group is therefore better seen as deriving from the gregariousness which the high citizen orientation implies--rather than as the possible content of opinion leaders' conversations from this group.

Overall, the relationships between perceived economic condition and these message content indexes were slight and mixed. In Table 10.15 we see that they are still mixed when the orientations are introduced, and still relatively small.

Among those of low parent, low citizen orientation, those who perceive the times as poor are somewhat more likely to use external attributions and verifiable content.

Table 10.15 Message Content Indexes by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Perceived Economic Condition.*

Index/ perc. cond.	Joint orientation: Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen
E/I;V:				
Poor	18%	20%	30%	25%
Good	17%	22%	39%	25%
E/I;NV:				
Poor	18%	36%	45%	45%
Good	16%	45%	32%	37%
V/NV;E:				
Poor	20%	18%	23%	25%
Good	17%	23%	32%	22%
V/NV;I:				
Poor	40%	30%	45%	36%
Good	33%	39%	46%	45%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.8.

Just the reverse is found for those of low parent, high citizen orientation. Among these persons, those who perceive the times as good are more likely to use external attributions and verifiable content.

Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, persons who perceive economic conditions as good are more likely to use external attributions for verifiable content and to use verifiable content externally attributed. However, they are less likely to use external attributions for nonverifiable content.

Among those of high parent, high citizen orientation, two relationships are of some note. Those who perceive conditions as poor are more likely to use external attributions for nonverifiable content. Those who perceive conditions as good are more likely to use verifiable content internally attributed.

School People

Table 10.16 gives the relationships between selected attributes of school people and the four message content indexes.

Females are more likely to use external attributions, although not to the same extent as found for female public school parents. They are also more likely to use verifiable content if externally attributed. For internally attributed content, the males make more use of verifiable content.

The older school people use more verifiable content than the younger persons, particularly that internally attributed. Age makes little difference in the use of external attributions.

More information exposure is related to greater use of verifiable content for the internally attributed statements among school people. However, for externally attributed statements, less information exposure is also related to greater use of external attributions among verifiable statements.

These latter results on information exposure are in contrast to those for the public school parents, where information exposure was generally positively related to the use of both external attributions and verifiable content.

Table 10.16 Message Content Indexes among School People, by Selected Attributes.*

Attribute	E/I;V	E/I;NV	V/NV;E	V/NV;I
Sex				
Male	19%	29%	16%	52%
Female	25%	31%	29%	42%
Age:				
40+ yrs.	23%	29%	25%	52%
20-39 yrs.	21%	32%	21%	41%
Information exposure:				
Zero to two	33%	31%	28%	42%
Three or more	19%	30%	21%	48%
Interest in local affairs				
Low	25%	29%	26%	40%
High	20%	31%	20%	52%
Interest in nonlocal affairs:				
Low	27%	28%	29%	53%
High	17%	33%	16%	39%
Evaluation of local schools:				
Low	12%	38%	12%	38%
Medium	20%	27%	22%	37%
High	26%	32%	26%	53%
Perceived economic condition:				
Poor	26%	36%	21%	44%
Good	21%	29%	24%	48%

*Percentages are of those whose ratio exceeds the average ratio for their respective districts. N's are given in Table 3.6 through 3.8.

Interest in local and nonlocal affairs furnish a provocative pair of results for school people. They are alike in that a high interest in either is likely to produce less use of external attributions for verifiable content, more use of external attributions for nonverifiable content, and greater use of nonverifiable, external attributions. However, they differ with respect to the relative use of verifiable, internally attributed statements. Those with a high interest in local affairs are more likely to use verifiable content. Those with a high interest in nonlocal affairs are less likely to use verifiable content.

Those with favorable evaluations of the local schools are more likely to use verifiable content, however attributed. With respect to external attributions, the picture is the same when the content is verifiable. But for nonverifiable content, those with a low evaluation of the local schools are likely to use more external attributions.

Perceived economic condition does not make too much of an impact on the use of message content characteristics among school people. There is a slight tendency for those who see conditions as poor to use more external attributions, and a slight tendency for those who perceive conditions as good to use more verifiable content.

In Summary

We have developed four indexes, based on two characteristics of conversational content: its verifiability and its attribution.

We found that most content is internally attributed; that is, it is not attributed to any outside source. We also found that most content is nonverifiable. Thus, the largest category is internally attributed, nonverifiable content (60-70%).

There tends to be a positive relationship between the use of external attributions and the use of verifiable content.

All aspects of scope (total conversations, scope of topics, and scope of conversants) are related to greater use of external attributions and verifiable content.

Those who initiate conversations by seeking make more use of verifiable, externally attributed content.

Those who have more horizontal conversations make more use of external attributions and verifiable content. Those with more vertical up conversations make more use of external attributions. Those with more vertical down conversations make more use only of verifiable, internally attributed content.

Influence attempts and successes are most highly related to the greater use of external, nonverifiable content. However, those with more success generally make more use of external attributions and verifiable content.

We noted that although influence success was related to more use of external attributions and verifiable content, greater frequency in starting conversations by R gives and R is sought were not. Since these aspects of initiative are related to influence success under some conditions, we concluded that gross amounts of R gives and R is sought would be less effective without accompanying use of external attributions and/or verifiable content.

Those of high parent orientation make more use of external attributions and of verifiable content.

Those of high citizen orientation make more use only of external, nonverifiable content.

Public school parents of high parent, low citizen orientation make the most use of verifiable content, and particularly of external, verifiable content.

Those of low parent, high citizen orientation make the most use of external, nonverifiable content.

However it is not the male opinion leaders in this group who pass on this rumor-like content. Older persons and those with more extreme opinions of the local schools--favorable or unfavorable--are more likely to do so. The prevalence of external, nonverifiable content in this group's conversational content appears due to the gregariousness factor tapped by the citizen orientation. (It is not related to interest in nonlocal affairs, for instance.)

The more educated public school parents make slightly more use of externally attributed verifiable content--but less use of verifiable content generally.

These parents with more information exposure make more use of external attributions--particularly for verifiable content.

Those of high parent, low citizen orientation--influential if they are sought out--who have less information exposure are much more likely to use verifiable but internally attributed content. Even though they are tuned to the outside world (high interest in nonlocal affairs is related to this usage), they do not cite outside sources.

However, these persons of low information exposure may not be the opinion leaders in this group. For greater use of verifiable, internally attributed content by this group is strongest among those with favorable opinions toward local schools. Such persons have been found earlier to have more vertical down conversations and more influence attempts--but no commensurate influence success.

Similarly, those of low parent, high citizen orientation who have unfavorable opinions of the schools also have more vertical down conversations, more influence attempts, and greater use of internally attributed, verifiable content--but no success.

Among school persons, only two characteristics relate to general use of more external attributions: sex (female) and perceived economic conditinn (poor).

If the content is verifiable, there is more external attribution among school people with a low interest in local affairs or nonlocal affairs and among those with a favorable evaluation of the local schools.

If the content is nonverifiable, there is more external attribution among those with a high interest in local or nonlocal affairs and among those with an unfavorable evaluation of the schools.

Four characteristics distinguish school people who use more verifiable content: age (older persons), a low interest in nonlocal affairs, a favorable evaluation of local schools, and perceived economic condition (good).

For externally attributed content, verifiable content is more often used by females, those with low information exposure, and those with a low interest in local affairs.

For internally attributed content, verifiable content is more often used by males, those with more information exposure, and those with a high interest in local affairs.

Chapter XI

Informal Communication Nets

In this last chapter of research findings, we take a different view of informal communication about schools. We shall look here at the networks of informal communication. We want to see some of their characteristics so we know where to look for them. We want to see how big--and potentially useful--they are. And we want to know something about how they operate, over time, in the transmission of information and opinion.

We were studying informal communication just before local school financial elections. Some of our observations might therefore differ if we consider separately those nets devoted to election topics and those nets devoted to nonelection topics. Many of our analyses in this chapter are made for both kinds of nets.

Although we can show the nature of differences between election and nonelection nets, we cannot show the full differences. The same people and the same conversations appear in both kinds of nets. To the extent that this occurs, we tend to underestimate the differences we would find between election and nonelection nets that had neither persons nor conversations in common.

General Characteristics of Nets

For the most part, the geographic distribution of informal communicators does not follow the geographic distribution for adults in the districts. We were able to locate geographically each communicator within his district. We also had a location for each original sample member in each district. We were able to compare the distribution of these geographical locations by placing a grid over each district map and obtaining the correlation between the number of communicators and the number of original sample members within each grid.

In Appendix D, Tables D.14 through D.18 show how this was done. The correlations obtained were:

District A -- .09
District B -- .59
District C -- .16
District D -- .29
District E -- .41

The variation in correlation between the geographical distribution of communicators and district adults is considerable. It seemed likely that this variation would be dependent on the location of schools. (The schools are also geographically located in Tables D.14 through D.18). But this was not a simple resolution to the problem. It was not until we checked back with the districts to ascertain when each school was built that we were able to explain the variation.

The schools in District B are assigned a subscript (in Table D.15) to show the year in which they were built. It is clear, then, why the geographical distribution of informal communicators parallels the geographical distribution of the adult population so highly in this district.

By showing the connections (conversations) between informal communicators in each district, we could find out how many informal communicators were interconnected--i.e., the size of each net. These nets vary from dyads (representing a conversation between two persons, neither of whom talked with anyone else) to large nets of persons (who talked with others, who had talked to others, etc.).

We also obtained the time that each conversation was held, so we drew the connections by blocks of time, showing the nets for the first portion of the pre-election period and showing the nets for the second portion, and so on. In this way we could see how small early nets came together to form larger nets.

The time periods were arbitrarily set for each district as proportions of all conversations, according to the number of conversations available for analysis in each district. For example, if there were 200 conversations in a given district, then five segments might be used to distinguish whether a conversation was held in the first time period, the second, the third, the fourth, or the fifth.

In general, one or two large nets encompassed many of the informal communicators by the end of the last time period. Tables D.19 through D.25 in Appendix D show the progression from many small nets to one or two large nets and a sprinkling of smaller nets.

Table 11.1 reports in summary form the cumulative nature of the process, showing the greater average size of nets in the final time periods.

Although the smaller initial nets usually came together toward the end of the pre-election period, it was possible to find a time in each district when two or three nets of some size--and alike in being election or nonelection nets--could be compared to see if the members of one net differed from the members of another net.

Table 11.2 gives the result of this analysis. Better than chance results were obtained. That is, it appears that significant differences are to be found between nets of informal communicators.

Table 11.1 Average Size of District Informal Communication Nets by Time.*

District/	Time period:									
Type of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A: Nonelection	2.91	3.41	5.37	7.80	9.47	9.16	10.08	12.00	12.32	13.55
B: Nonelection	5.50	4.00	3.70	3.44	3.81	4.18	4.72	5.50	7.50	
C: Nonelection	2.50	2.70	3.25	3.68	4.85	5.09	5.37			
C: Election	3.40	3.36	4.38	5.62	6.80	6.73	6.78			
D: Nonelection	2.60	3.00	3.60	4.28	4.44	5.48	5.52	6.75	7.34	8.00
E. Nonelection	2.68	3.47	3.95	4.22	4.50	4.88	6.50	6.95	8.33	
E: Election	2.16	2.56	2.68	2.67	2.72	2.89	3.19	3.84		

*Cell entries are the average net size for a given time period. Data in this table is taken from Tables D.19 through D.25 in Appendix D.

Table 11.2 Communicator Characteristics that Differentiate Nets (Election and nonelection) in Districts: Analysis of Variance Results.*

	District and type of net:						
Characteristic	A:E	A:NE	B:E	C:E	C:E	C:NE	E:NE
Sex	2.83	7.82	1.98	.57	1.23	2.06	.56
Age	.96	.52	.70	.34	1.32	1.11	3.33
Education	.19	1.57	4.36	.17	2.25	2.53	.52
No. of children	.83	.26	5.29	5.58	14.55	.76	2.53
Public school parent	1.23	2.97	.07	3.59	14.26	5.95	1.16
Length of residence	1.19	.00	.75	8.92	15.00	.29	.03
Direct participation	.44	.48	1.32	.01	1.42	.11	1.45
Efficacy	1.90	.30	.08	4.43	1.14	.61	3.43
Information exposure	.54	.35	3.81	2.05	.10	18.22	3.60
Interest in local affairs	.19	.01	4.51	1.85	1.91	1.23	.55
Interest in nonlocal affairs	.93	.67	4.36	.03	.43	1.21	.01
Citizen orientation	.97	.00	1.23	2.23	1.12	.89	1.98
Evaluation of local schools	4.52	.01	.65	.12	3.64	1.92	.96
Pride	.74	3.16	.15	.18	1.52	1.85	1.11
Parent group mbrshp.	.28	4.34	.37	.95	1.90	1.54	1.05
Communicated interest	.82	.01	.02	9.77	4.28	.04	4.89
F ratio significant at $p < .05$ level:	3.09	3.96	3.95	3.98	3.18	3.07	3.95
Degrees of freedom	2/103	1/84	1/87	1/71	2/51	2/126	1/93

*Cell entries are F ratios obtained by analysis of variance of the nets of a given type within a given district. Those F ratios significant at the .05 level are underlined.

The characteristics on which net members differ are seen to vary by district and by type of net. Number of children and communicated interest make a difference in three instances. Having a child in public school, length of residence, and evaluation in local schools make a difference in two instances.

We thought perhaps there would be differences between early communicators and late communicators, regardless of net affiliations. Table 11.3 shows this to be the case. The characteristics which are important in distinguishing those who engage in informal conversations during the first two periods from those who engage in informal conversations later on are primarily those associated with the general particicipation factor previously remarked on--either directly or indirectly. Sex and evaluation are both related to the parent orientation and thus indirectly to participation.

Any interactions involving discrepant results for election and nonelection comparisons are minimized by the fact that many of the same persons are in both kinds of nets. But even so, there is a reversal for interest in nonlocal affairs. The early communicators in election nets are less likely to be high on interest in nonlocal affairs, whereas the early communicators in nonelection nets are more likely to be high on interest in nonlocal affairs.

Several other comparisons are of some interest. Interest in local affairs and information exposure are better at differentiating early and late communicators for members of nonelection nets. Evaluation of local schools is better at differentiating early and late communicators for election nets.

Table 11.3 Communicator Characteristics that Differentiate Early and Late Communicators.*

	Type of net and communicator:			
	Election Nets		Nonelection Nets	
Characteristic	**Early**	**Late**	**Early**	**Late**
Sex (% female)	75%	62%	72%	64%
Public school parent (%)	76%	61%	72%	62%
Interest in local affairs (% "high")	57%	51%	61%	46%
Interest in nonlocal affairs (% "high")	32%	35%	40%	34%
Parent group mbrshp. (%)	81%	64%	82%	68%
Information exposure (% 4-6 exposures)	38%	35%	42%	31%
Evaluation of local schools (% "low")	17%	27%	24%	26%
	(N=242)	(N=468)	(N=275)	(N=574)

*Percentages are of early (first two time periods) and late (remaining time periods) communicators who possess the characteristic listed.

Additional aspects of informal communication nets in which we had some interest were: location of conversations, relationship of conversants, and reason for starting the conversations. Tables 11.4 through 11.8 report our analyses of these for election and nonelection nets, and for all conversations.

Table 11.4 shows the home to be the typical location for conversations about either election or nonelection topics. If one includes phone conversations, the majority of all conversations are held in the home.

The only location which differs appreciably in the frequency of election and nonelection conversations held is the school, where more nonelection than election conversations are held.

Table 11.4 Location of Conversations by Type of Net.

	Type of net:		
Location	**Election**	**Nonelection**	**All conversations**
Own home	38%	35%	37%
Other's home	19%	16%	16%
At school	8%	15%	13%
On phone	13%	11%	12%
Social gathering	5%	8%	6%
At work	5%	5%	5%
In car	4%	3%	3%
Other locations	8%	7%	8%
	100%	100%	100%

Table 11.5 shows the relationship of the conversant to be rather uniform for both election and nonelection topics. Friends, spouse, neighbors, or school persons, in that order, are the most likely conversants.

Table 11.6 shows what kind of conversants are talked to in what kinds of locations. The largest groups are the spouses who are talked to in the home, the friends who are talked to in one home or another, school persons who are talked to at school, and neighbors who are talked to in one home or the other.

Table 11.5 Relationship of Conversatns by Type of Net.

Relationship	Type of net: Election	Nonelection	All conversations
Friend	27%	26%	26%
Spouse	13%	14%	14%
Neighbor	15%	11%	12%
School person	10%	13%	11%
Other family	5%	8%	7%
Coworker	4%	6%	6%
Public School parent	5%	6%	6%
PTA member	6%	4%	5%
Other relationships	15%	12%	13%
	100%	100%	100%
	(N=1302)	(N=1845)	(N=2523)

The significance of this distribution is not immediately apparent until we adjust for the likelihood that a given conversant would be talked with in a given location on chance basis. Table 11.7 shows this adjustment. It contains entries only of conversations occurring more frequently than chance for a given location and conversant.

Conversations with a spouse in one's own home and with other family members in one's own home are seen to be higher than chance. Conversations with co-workers at work and with friends and neighbors in their homes are also appreciably above chance.

Table 11.6 Distribution of Conversations by Location and Relationship of Conversant.

Location	Spouse	Other family	Co-worker	Friend	Neighbor	School person	PTA Member	Public school parent
	Relationship of Conversant:							
Own home	14.4	6.2	.2	7.9	6.4	1.5	1.0	.6
Other's home	.8	1.4	.2	8.3	5.6	.9	1.4	.7
At work	--	.1	3.2	.7	.2	.8	.2	.3
Social gath.	.3	--	.2	2.3	.5	.6	.1	.2
On phone	.1	.3	.2	4.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3
At school	.4	.1	2.9	2.1	.3	7.8	1.1	2.3
Club meeting	--	--	--	1.2	--	.7	.2	.5
In car	1.1	.2	.4	1.6	.1	.2	.1	--

*Cell entries are the proportion of all conversations that occurred with a given type of conversant in a given location.

Table 11.7 Conversations Occurring More Frequently than Chance, by Location and Relationship of Conversant.

Location	Spouse	Other family	Co-worker	Friend	Neighbor	School person	PTA Member	Public school parent
	Relationship of Conversant:							
Own home	+7.8	+3.0			+1.0			
Others' home				+2.8	+2.9		+ .4	
At work			+2.8					
Social gath.				+1.1				
On phone				+1.4			+ .7	+ .7
At school			+1.7			+5.5	+ .2	+1.3
Club meeting				+ .4		+ .3	+ .1	+ .3
In car	+ .5		+ .1	+ .6				

*Cell entries are the proportion of all conversations that occurred with a given type of conversant in a given location in excess of chance expectation. Chance expectation is based on the independent proportions of conversant type and conversation location.

Two interesting findings are the greater than chance likelihood of talking with a coworker at school and talking with a friend on the phone. The greater than chance expectation of talking with a school person at a club meeting is also of some interest.

Table 11.8 shows that the four reasons most frequently given for starting a conversation are: to discuss the election, to talk about schools in general, to talk about a child, or, the person had just "read soomething."

Half of the conversations in which the election came up as a topic were started for the purpose of discussing the election. Wanting to discuss the election is also the reason for starting one-fifth of the conversations in which nonelection topics came up. But, since the nonelection conversations may also have included election topics, this is not a particularly high proportion.

Table 11.8 Reason for Starting Conversation by Type of Net.

	Type of net:		
Reason	Election	Nonelection	All conversations
Election	52%	21%	32%
Schools in general	10%	26%	20%
Child	1%	14%	10%
"Read something"	8%	6%	7%
Other reasons	29%	33%	31%
	100%	100%	100%
	(N=1005)	(N=1348)	(N=1902)

Conversations started for the reason of someone wanting to talk about their child are very unlikely to lead to the emergence of the election as a topic.

The respondent's having read something is not much more likely to lead to a conversation in which the election is the topic than a conversation in which it is not a topic.

Time as a Factor in Informal Communication

The view ordinarily taken of any pre-election period is one of mounting activity as the election draws near.[1] In these analyses, the cells are not independent in two senses: first, the previously noted lack of indepdendence between the kinds of nets, where the same conversation may have been placed in both types of nets; and secondly, because the same person may have reported conversations in two or more time periods.

Table 11.9 shows that there are some slight changes in the kinds of persons talked to as the pre-election period progressed. There is very little difference between election and nonelection results. The tendency is for there to be more conversations with kinfolk and friends, but less conversations with neighbors. Conversations with school people are somewhat different for election and nonelection topics. School people are more likely to be talked with during the middle time periods for election topics, but at the beginning and end of the preelection period for nonelection topics.

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[1] This point of view is best exemplified by the "funnel" model advanced by the Michigan studies of voter behavior. See: Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. The American Voter, Wiley, New York, 1960. A related phenomenon was noted in Voters and Their Schools, op. cit., Chapter 6 (especially pp. 235-236, where it is reported that the output of information from schools and election related content in two local newpapers became more general as the election approached).

Table 11.9 Relationship of Conversant by Time and Type of Net.*

Relationship/ type of net	Time period: 1	2	3	4	5
Any kin:					
Election	15%	19%	21%	16%	20%
Nonelection	17%	26%	22%	21%	20%
Friend					
Election	22%	24%	32%	29%	31%
Nonelection	20%	25%	30%	26%	27%
Neighbor:					
Election	20%	18%	11%	15%	10%
Nonelection	13%	13%	10%	11%	8%
School people:					
Election	7%	10%	12%	10%	10%
Nonelection	15%	9%	10%	15%	14%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period that were with the category of relationship listed. The cell n's are given below:

	1	2	3	4	5
Election	249	246	227	285	295
Nonelection	391	330	364	315	444

There are a few differences in location of conversation by time, as shown in Table 11.10. Election discussion at home, either in one's own home or in the other conversant's home, tend to dip slightly during the second and third time periods, while nonelection conversations tend to rise slightly in the same time periods.

Table 11.10 Location of Conversation by Time and Type of Net.*

Location/ Type of net	Time period: 1	2	3	4	5
Own home or other's					
Election	62%	56%	54%	62%	60%
Nonelection	51%	55%	54%	52%	49%
At work:					
Election	2%	7%	6%	4%	7%
Nonelection	4%	6%	6%	4%	6%
Social gathering:					
Election	4%	6%	3%	5%	8%
Nonelection	9%	8%	6%	6%	6%
At school:					
Election	5%	11%	8%	5%	10%
Nonelectinn	19%	12%	15%	14%	17%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period that were in the location listed. The cell n's are given below.

	1	2	3	4	5
Election:	199	198	173	223	212
Nonelection:	267	246	266	237	322

Conversations at work are just slightly lower during the first time period for both election and nonelection conversations, and then are quite similar thereafter.

For conversations held at social gatherings, there is a slight difference. A greater number of nonelection conversations are held at social gatherings during the first time period, in contrast to more election conversations held at social gatherings in the last time period.

The greater frequency of nonelection conversations at school during the first period attenuates as time progresses.

Wanting to talk about the election, as a reason for starting conversations, tends to decrease as a way of getting election conversations started as time progresses. Otherwise there is very little relationship between the reason for starting a conversation and the time period involved, as shown in Table 11.11.

Table 11.11 Reason for Starting Conversation by Time and Type of Net.*

Reason/ Type of net	Time period: 1	2	3	4	5
Election					
Election	62%	54%	50%	48%	48%
Nonelection	23%	20%	17%	20%	23%
Child:					
Election	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%
Nonelection	12%	14%	14%	15%	15%
"Read something":					
Election	6%	10%	5%	9%	9%
Nonelection	7%	5%	7%	6%	7%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period that were started for the reason listed. The cell n's are the same as in Table 11.10.

There are some changes in who talks about various topics by time. School people tend to talk more about election and nonelection topics as time progresses. Public school parents tend to talk about them less as time progresses. Table 11.12 shows these relationships.

Table 11.12 Direction Level of Respondent by Time and Type of Net.*

Direction level/ Type of net	Time period: 1	2	3	4	5
School people					
Election	10%	21%	18%	19%	21%
Nonelection	18%	19%	20%	21%	29%
Public school parents:					
Election	78%	65%	62%	69%	64%
Nonelection	67%	67%	65%	72%	58%
Others:					
Election	12%	14%	19%	12%	16%
Nonelection	15%	14%	14%	7%	13%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period in which the respondent was a member of the listed category. The n's are the same as in Table 11.10.

Among the nonpublic school parents, i.e., Others, there is a slight reversal between the first and later time periods. During the first time period, they tend to talk more about nonelection topics and during later periods about election topics.

Table 11.13 shows that influence behavior by the respondent varies only slightly during the pre-election period. Both attempts and successes in election conversations tend to show a slight dip during the second and third time periods, while attempts and successes in nonelection conversations show a slight increase during the middle time periods.

Table 11.13 Aspects of Influence by Time and Type of Net.*

Influence behavior/ Type of net	Time period: 1	2	3	4	5
Attempts by respondent:					
Election	59%	55%	54%	60%	60%
Nonelection	56%	58%	61%	61%	56%
Successes by respandent					
Election	31%	26%	25%	25%	32%
Nonelectinn	23%	25%	25%	28%	23%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period, in which the respondent attempted or succeeded in influencing a conversant. The n's are the same as in Table 11.10.

We asked each respondent whether they expected the conversant to agree with them. Those who expected agreement are more likely to be talking about elections later in the pre-election period. For nonelection topics, there is no relationship between expected agreement and time of conversation, as shown in Table 11.14.

We asked each respondent whether the conversant in a given conversation ever sought him out for information or opinion. Table 11.15 shows that for conversations in which election is a topic, the respondent tends to talk more often in later time periods if others seek something from him. This relationship is not found for nonelection topics.

Table 11.14 Expectation of Agreement with Conversant by Time and Type of Net.*

Expectation/ Type of Net	Time period 1	2	3	4	5
Expected agreement "pretty often" or "very often":					
Election	64%	70%	69%	70%	71%
Nonelection	65%	67%	65%	64%	63%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period by respondents who expected agreement with the conversant. The n's are the same as in Table 11.9.

Table 11.15 Respondent is Sought for Information and Opinion by Time and Type of Net.*

R is sought/ Type of net	Time period 1	2	3	4	5
R is sought for information:					
Election	26%	40%	38%	41%	39%
Nonelection	37%	37%	34%	36%	41%
R is sought for opinion:					
Election	35%	45%	44%	48%	51%
Nonelection	46%	43%	42%	48%	49%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period by respondents who said they were sought for information and/or opinion by the conversant "sometimes", "pretty often", or "very often". The n's are the same as in Table 11.9.

We asked each respondent whether he himself sought out information or opinion from each of his conversants. Table 11.16 shows that for conversations in which election is a topic, the respondent more frequently talks later with those from whom he seeks information or opinion. This was not the case, however, for conversations in which nonelection topics occurred.

Table 11.16 Respondent Seeks Information and Opinion by Time and Type of Net.*

R seeks/ Type of net	Time period: 1	2	3	4	5
R seeks information:					
Election	28%	39%	40%	39%	36%
Nonelection	40%	43%	38%	39%	38%
R seeks opinion:					
Election	33%	50%	45%	45%	49%
Nonelection	48%	48%	46%	46%	48%

*Percentages are of total conversations of a given type in a given time period by respondents who said they seek information and/or opinion from the conversant "sometimes", "pretty often", or "very often". The n's are the same as in Table 11.9.

We asked each respondent to compare his own knowledge about schools with the other convérsant's knowledge. Table 11.17 shows that those respondents who talk about either election or nonelection topics later in the pre-election period are more likely to rate their own knowledge about the schools higher than the knowledge of their conversants.

Table 11.17 Respondent's Estimate of His Knowledge about Schools by Time and Type of Net.*

Perceived knowledge/ Type of net	Time period 1	2	3	4	5
R's estimate of own knowledge:					
Election	-2%	7%	7%	2%	12%
Nonelection	0%	3%	3%	5%	11%

*Percentages are differences between the proportion of respondents who felt their knowledge was greater than the conversant's and the proportion who felt their knowledge was less. The original percentages are based on cell sizes given in Table 11.9.

This finding may well reflect the school persons getting into the nets later (as seen in Table 11.12). If so, it is certainly consistent with the assumption that school people would have more knowledge about school affairs that we made in our stipulation of direction level.

Information exposure

This final section on kinds of information exposure *has nothing* to do with informal communication nets. However, it is concerned with differences in exposure when the election was a topic touched on in the exposure. It adds a clarifying note on the nature of the influence exerted by members of the orientation groups.

Table 11.18 reports the exposure to various information sources for school people and public school parents of varying joint orientation. We shall consider the latter first.

Table 11.18 Exposure to Information Sources among Public School Parent and School People Communicators.

	Percent of exposure among:				
Source	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen	School people
School board	26%	38%	24%	40%	51%
Social gathering	41%	52%	49%	72%	58%
Public meeting	37%	40%	48%	57%	55%
Bulletin or pamphlet	64%	79%	70%	79%	79%
Television	38%	44%	32%	45%	36%
Radio	34%	42%	32%	43%	37%
Newspapers	75%	85%	77%	91%	84%
	(N=114)	(N=122)	N=105)	(N=155)	N=152)

Those of high citizen orientation are more likely to expose themselves to the school board in their district. The parent orientation has no effect.

Both orientations increase the probability of exposure to social gatherings at which school topics arise, the citizen orientation slightly more than the parent orientation. When both orientations are high, an enhancing effect is noted; each orientation enhances the effect of the other.

Both orientations are related to more exposure to public meetings, with the parent orientation making more of a difference.

The citizen orientation increases the likelihood of exposure to bulletins or pamphlets issued by the school. The parent orientation does so only if the citizen orientation is low.

Only the citizen orientation is related to greater exposure to television and radio as sources of school information.

The citizen orientation is more highly related to exposure to newspapers than is the parent orientation.

School people are relatively high on exposure to all sources of information about schools. Only on exposure in social gatherings are they markedly less than a public school parent group--those of high parent, high citizen orientation.

Table 11.19 shows the exposures to election issues.

For five of the sources of information, those of high parent, low citizen orientation show more exposure to election topics--school board, public meetings, bulletin or pamphlet, television, and radio. Although they did not have the highest exposure to these sources, they do show more attention to election content in the exposures they do have.

Those of high parent orientation, whatever the citizen orientation level, show more exposure to election content in social gatherings.

For their exposure to newspapers, all groups have about the same amount of election content. The parent orientation makes a slight difference.

School people are somewhat like those of high parent, low citizen orientation in the greater attention to election topics in their exposures. However, they fall short of this group in election exposures to school boards and to bulletins or pamphlets.

The greater attention paid election topics by those of high parent, low citizen orientation suggests that their influence, coming as it does as the result of their being sought, may be more specific to the election itself than the influence of others.

Table 11.19 Proportion of Information Exposures among Public School Parents and School People Where Election was Topic.*

	Percentage of election exposures among:				
Source	Low parent, low citizen	Low parent, high citizen	High parent, low citizen	High parent, high citizen	School people
School board	13%	26%	40%	31%	23%
Social gathering	45%	50%	69%	70%	66%
Public meeting	29%	29%	62%	53%	72%
Bulletin or pamphlet	79%	84%	92%	90%	77%
Television	30%	31%	56%	27%	54%
Radio	33%	29%	56%	30%	54%
Newspapers	84%	81%	86%	87%	86%

*N's are the frequencies on which Table 11.18 proportions are based.

In Summary

There is little correspondence between the geographical distribution of adults in the school districts studied and informal communicators about schools--except in those areas in which schools had recently been built.

Informal communication nets are typically large by the end of the pre-election period, with a sprinkling of little ones. Before the smaller nets merge into bigger nets (i.e., before they have a conversant in common), they have some communicator characteristics on which they differ significantly. These characteristics vary both by district and type of net (election or nonelection topics).

Those who converse about schools early in the pre-election period tend to be females, public school parents, members of parent groups, to have high interest in local affairs, and to have slightly more information exposure.

Most conversations about schools occur in the home, counting phone conversations together with conversations in the respondent's or his conversant's home. Conversations at school account for 13% of all conversations.

Most frequently, the conversant is a friend, the spouse, or a neighbor. Conversations with school people follow in frequency of occurrence.

Particular pairings of conversant and location that occur more often than chance would predict are: spouse and other kin at own home; coworker at work and at school; friend in his home, at a social gathering, or on the phone; neighbor at own home and at his home; school persons at school; and, a public school parent at school.

Wanting to talk about the election is the most frequent reason given for starting conversations in which the election is a topic. If the election is not a topic, a desire to talk about the schools in general is the reason most often given.

Wanting to talk about the election is a more important reason for starting conversations early in the time period before the election.

Public school parents tend to talk more about the election earlier. School people tend to talk more about it later.

Influence attempts and successes in conversations about the election tend to occur more often at the beginning and end of the pre-election period.

There are more conversations in which the election is a topic later in the pre-election period under these conditions:

With conversants the respondent expects to agree with him;

By respondents who seek information or opinion from the conversant;

By respondents sought for information or opinion by the conversant; and,

By respondents who rate their knowledge of local schools higher than they rate their conversant's knowledge.

More nonelection topic conversations also occur under the last condition, suggesting that the school people--who tend to talk more later--may be responsible for this observed trend.

Those of high citizen orientation are generally more likely to have greater exposure to any source of information about schools. The parent orientation makes an appreciable difference only in exposure to school information at social gatherings (then only in the high citizen orientation condition) and at public meetings.

Among those who do have exposure to school information, those of high parent, low citizen orientation are usually most likely to have attended to election topics. We have noted that the influence wielded by those of this group who are sought out by others may well be specific to the election issues.

Chapter 12

A Concluding View

In this concluding chapter, we want to summarize our findings on informal communication about schools and discuss their implications for the dissemination of information from, and feedback of information to, the schools.

Who are the Informal Communicators?

Informal communicators about school affairs consist of four parts; public school parents, school people and Others (preschool parents, private school parents, postschool parents, and nonparents).

They converse most often with someone in the family, a friend, a neighbor, or a school person.

The majority of their conversations occur in the home of one of the conversants, sometimes by telephone.

The conversations in the pre-election period we studied are linked such that rather large networks exist by the end of the period. But some nets of rather different kinds of people go into making these larger nets.

By and large, to know who are the informal communicators, we need to locate those persons with an interest in school affairs. As indicated above, two such interests are reflected in school related roles: the public school parent role and the role of the school person. The third interest that we have identified is found in the citizen orientation. This takes the form of participation, as evidenced by organizational memberships.

Interests as the bases for informal communication about schools are seen in a number of findings.

The geographical distribution of informal communicators does not correspond to the geographical distribution of adults in the school district, except in those parts of the district where new schools have been built.

In a sample of adults from five school districts, the two orientations, parent and citizen, account for most of our ability to differentiate between communicators and noncommunicators. If we know only that a person is high on both orientations, we would be right two-thirds of the time in identifying such a person as an informal communicator about schools.

The parent and citizen orientations account for variance among those who are communicators in such aspects of informal communication as scope, influence attempts, number of horizontal conversations (with persons like oneself), and number of conversations in which the respondent initiates the conversation by giving his opinion or some information.

The school is more often the location for a conversation than at work or at a social gathering.

The two orientations, as reflections of interest, play another important part in our identification of informal communicators. The parent and citizen orientations are related to many characteristics that, in their absence, would themselves be predictive of informal communicatory behavior.

Because we have taken these two oriantations as a frame of reference in which to view informal communication, many expected relations for such characteristics disappear. One orientation (or both) absorbs the potential contribution of the variables. For example, the parent orientation tends to reduce the predictive value of sex and age because these are related to the parent orientation.

The parent and citizen orientations do not have this effect on each other in distinguishing communicators from noncommunicators. Each orientation is more effective in distinguishing communicators in the high condition of the other. But in relation to some aspects of informal communication among communicators, there is overlap. Each orientation sometimes accounts for variance in aspects of informal communication better in the absence of the other orientation.

Maximum differentiation of communicators from noncommunicators occurs when length of residence is used along with the parent and citizen orientations. Short time residents who lack both orientations do not talk about the local schools.

The Flow of Information

We looked at the flow of information among public school parents and school people in a number of ways. We looked at the volume of conversations. We looked at how conversations were started. We looked at how conversations linked persons of different knowledge levels about schools. We looked at conversations by the time in which they occurred during the pre-election periods we studied. We looked at the conduct of conversations, and we looked at the content of conversations.

The volume, or scope, of informal communication is directly related to evidences of interest. Both orientations are related to all aspects of scope--total conversations, scope of topics, and scope of conversants.

However, either orientation tends to account for any aspect of scope better in the absence of the other. Similarly, either orientation tends to have a higher relationship with any aspect of scope in the low condition of any test variable.

Thus, with regard to scope, these evidences of interest appear to be functional equivalents for each other—working better in the absence than in the presence of another evidence of interest in local schools.

Information exposure, which might be expected to increase scope of topics in informal communication among parents showing other evidences of interest, fails to do so. It increases scope of topics only in the absence of both orientations.

Public school parents who hold extreme opinions about local schools do not have more scope than those holding moderate opinions. Often, those with moderate opinions show more scope.

Favorably disposed parents have more scope of topics, while unfavorably disposed parents have more scope of conversants.

Those who see economic conditions as poor have more scope of topics. They also have more scope of conversants among those of high citizen orientation. The "taxpayer" view in relation to scope of topics is found also for school people who view economic conditions as poor.

School people with an interest in local affairs have more scope of conversants. Those with an interest in nonlocal affairs have less scope of conversants.

Conversations tend to start more frequently with the respondent either giving or being given information or opinion. The ratio of these two forms of initiative to the respondent seeking or being sought is about five to three.

Both the parent and citizen orientations are somewhat positively related to initiation by the respondent giving and seeking--the active forms of initiation. This is in accord with the view of informal communication activity as an expression of interest.

Correlational analyses show positive correlations between any aspects of initiative to be rare, except among those of high parent, low citizen orientation. A communication leader is unlikely, given such results, particularly outside this one group. This group shows the most common variance accounted for by the first factor of a factor analysis of the intercorrelations among informal communication aspects.

We found two evidences of reciprocity in the correlations between forms of initiative. The same persons tend to both give and seek; and, the same persons tend to both seek and be sought.

Seeking as a means of starting conversations is most frequent among those already likely to know more about the schools. It is greater for those of high parent orientation than for those of high citizen orientation.

Seeking is the least used form of initiative among school people.

The public school parents who are sought out for information or opinion tend to be those of high parent orientation. The citizen orientation is not related to this characteristic.

Those with high education and those with favorable opinions about schools tend to be sought out as well.

A higher degree of information exposure is not related to being sought out for opinion or information among public school parents, but it is related to being sought out among school people.

Conversations in which the election is a topic occur later in the pre-election period if the respondent is seeking or being sought. They also occur later among respondents who rate their knowledge of schools higher than that of their conversants.

This last finding holds also for conversations in which the election is not a topic. So we have inferred that school people—who usually communicate later in the period—are responsible for this trend.

In our factor analyses of informal communication aspects, we find two factors relating to flow of information common to all six groups examined. These are an active communication factor and a passive communication factor.

The active communication factor includes all aspects of scope (total conversations, scope of topics, and scope of conversants), horizontal conversations, influence attempts and successes, and the initiative form of R gives.

The passive communication factor includes all aspects of scope, horizontal conversations, and the initiative form of R is given.

The direction of most informal communication is horizontal. About 5/7 of all conversations are with persons like oneself, in terms of presumed knowledge about schools. Vertical up and vertical down conversations each account for about 1/7 of all conversations.

Thus, public school parents converse with other public school parents, school people converse with other school people, preschool parents converse with other preschool parents, and so forth. This holds even though the public school parents constitute the majority of informal communicators and might be expected to be the conversant most often for any other type of person interested in the schools.

The generally accepted observation that people talk more to persons like themselves is substantiated here.

Both the parent and citizen orientations are positively related with frequency of horizontal and vertical up conversations, but not with frequency of vertical down conversations.

No variable we studied has a positive relationship with all three aspects of direction in all the groups we examined. Interest in nonlocal affairs does have a positive correlation with all aspects of direction among those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation.

Our correlational analysis among aspects of informal communication shows no significant positive correlations between aspects of direction. The relay function, suggested by any positive correlation, is likely only among those of low parent, high citizen orientation.

The one relay function most likely to occur is exemplified by the positive correlation between vertical up and vertical down conversations in three of the five groups studied. (The school people, by definition, could not have vertical up conversations.)

While horizontal conversations appear in both the active and the passive communication factors, neither vertical up nor vertical down conversations appears in either factor.

The frequency of vertical up conversations is correlated to the frequency of R seeks as a form of initiative for three groups of the five eligible.

Vertical down conversations are correlated with the initiative form of R is sought for three of the five groups.

We have concluded that dissemination of information about schools is primarily dependent on the participation of these individuals and their interests. There is little indication that there is a relay function being performed. The same persons do not often both get and give. The same persons do not often converse with persons of more than one level.

Within the conversations, we looked at the respondent's tendency to communicate more than receive, and to give more than seek. In each case, we viewed such tendencies in relation to the average ratios for the respondent's district.

Those who initiate conversations by seeking tend to continue to have a higher proportion of seeking behavior during the conversations. Similarly, those who initiate conversations by giving tend to have higher ratios of giving to seeking during the conversation.

The parent orientation is positively related to seeking behavior during the conversation. The citizen orientation is positively related with a greater amount of communicating relative to receiving during the conversation.

Those who have more vertical up conversations tend to be the receiver or the seeker during the conversation. Those who have more vertical down conversations tend to be the communicator and the giver during the conversations.

Public school parents of high parent, low citizen orientation have the lowest communicator and giver ratios, indicating more reciprocity between them and their conversants during the conversations.

Those with low education and less information exposure are more likely to be communicators and givers during the conversations.

Among school people, however, higher information exposure is positively related with both indexes.

We also looked at the respondent's tendencies to use content attributed to other persons or sources than himself, and to use verifiable content. The frequency of external attributions is quite low, averaging about 16 or 17% over the five districts studied. Verifiable content comprises between 20 and 30% of the content, depending on the district.

Internal, nonverifiable content accounts for 60-70% of all conversational content.

All aspects of scope are related to the use of both verifiable content and external attributions. Similarly, those who initiate conversations by seeking and those who have more horizontal conversations are more likely to use external attributions and verifiable content.

Those who have more vertical up conversations tend to use more external attributions. Those who have more vertical down conversations show more usage only of verifiable, internally attributed content.

Those of high parent orientation tend to make more use of both external attributions and verifiable content. The citizen orientation is related only to greater use of external, nonverifiable content.

Those of low parent, high citizen orientation show the highest use of external, nonverifiable content. This may constitute spreading of rumors. It is the older persons and those with extreme opinions who tend to make greater use of external, nonverifiable content in this group.

Those with more information exposure make greater use of external attributions, particularly verifiable ones.

Those with more education make greater use of external attributions, but less use of verifiable content.

Among school people, females and those who perceive economic conditions as poor tend to use external attributions more. Greater use of verifiable content occurs among those who are older, those with a low interest in nonlocal affairs, those with a favorable evaluation of local schools, and those who perceive economic conditions as good.

Flow of Influence

What we have found out about the flow of influence pertains to two of its aspects: the kinds of influence exerted by different kinds of persons, and the extent to which influence is successfully exerted.

The common factor of participation, based on interest, that accounts for much of informal communication behavior becomes a problem in assessing the incidence of influence success. Success necessarily follows attempts, and the number of attempts is related to the amount of participation engaged in by the respondent.

We have employed several controls in our analyses to adjust for this common participation factor and to avoid several dangers of faulty inference.

One such danger arises if one only studies each characteristic of the respondent separately in relation to success. One may see a potential causal factor, where in reality there is none. A characteristic related to success may be only artifactually related. Its apparent correlation with success disappears when another variable is introduced as a control.

Another danger arises from the failure to distinguish between potential causal factors that may be necessary conditions and those which may be sufficient conditions for influence success.

A condition is deemed necessary for success if success does not occur in its absence. A condition is deemed sufficient to achieve success if success follows on its appearance.

The lack of distinction between necessary and sufficient conditions can lead one to view influence success in the wrong perspective. If one finds that success occurs most frequently in a given condition of some variable, it provides some indication that this condition may be necessary. But for us to infer that the condition is sufficient as well, we must find it to be related to success when the factor of participation has been removed—that is, when we have controlled for different amounts of influence attempts.

It is important that we know how the majority of influence successes occur. But if we are concerned about altering the incidence of influence success, we must also know which variables contribute to success beyond what sheer frequency of attempts would lead us to predict.

Our first evidence on influence success was the finding that females of low parent orientation were more frequently sought out in the initiation of conversations. So were persons with more education.

Our correlational analyses later showed that neither of these led to commensurate influence success.

For those of high parent, low citizen orientation with a high interest in nonlocal affairs—all of whom are women—we also found a greater likelihood that such respondents would be sought out for information or opinion. These persons we found in the correlational analysis to be effective in achieving influence success.

Both the parent orientation and citizen orientation were found to be related to successful influence. Each is more effective in achieving influence in the presence of the other. This is in contrast to their effect on influence attempts, where the relationship between each and influence attempts is greater in the absence of the other orientation, as it is for all aspects of scope.

Males of low parent, high citizen orientation tend to have more influence success than females. These males were also found to have a relatively high degree of the form of initiative, R gives.

Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, more influence attempts are made by those unfavorable to the local schools. Among those of high parent, low citizen orientation, more attempts are made among those favorable to the local schools. In both cases, however, successful influence occurs most often among those who hold moderate opinions of the local schools.

Among school people, the same result is found for influence success. Those with moderate opinions of the schools tend to be the most successful.

Influence attempts and successes appear in the active communication factor found for all groups studied, a factor that focuses on R gives as the dominant form of initiative. This seems to indicate a reinforcement function of influence.

Influence success also appears in a factor with R is sought and R seeks for two groups: those of low parent, high citizen orientation and those of high parent, low citizen orientation. Horizontal conversations and all aspects of scope appear as well. Among the Others, influence success appears with vertical down conversations. Among those of low parent, high citizen orientation, it appears with vertical up conversations.

The factor analyses, however, do not make an adjustment for the participation factor. When we made this adjustment, we found several differences in the picture of influence success.

We found scope to be generally unrelated to success for all groups studied except one. For those of low parent, low citizen orientation, whose participation is low, scope does have a slight correlation with influence success.

Only among those of high parent, low citizen orientation is there relationship between R is sought and influence success after the adjustment.

The initiative form of R gives is related to influence success after the adjustment for all groups except those of high parent, low citizen orientation.

School people who initiate by seeking are more often successful. However, we have seen that this is the least used form of initiative among school people.

We found that after the adjustment for influence attempts, there was no relationship of any size between horizontal conversations and influence success for the two groups in which opinion leadership seems most likely--those of low parent, high citizen orientation, and those of high parent, low citizen orientation. Thus we have concluded that although most influence success occurs in horizontal conversations, we cannot infer that horizontal conversations are more effective than other types of conversations for achieving influence success--except among those of low parent, low citizen or high parent, high citizen orientation.

Vertical up conversations are not related to influence success in any group after the adjustment has been made. Vertical down conversations are related to influence success in only one group, the Others.

Having found three different forms of initiative to be related to influence success (R gives, R seeks, and R is sought), and having found that different groups have successful influencers in them, we have concluded that there are different forms of opinion leadership and different kinds of opinion leaders.

The analysis of conversational conduct and content shed additional light on successful influence. Those most frequently successful show more reciprocity than those only occasionally successful. They are not so likely to have higher ratios of communicating to receiving or of giving to seeking.

The high parent, low citizen orientation females, whom we have seen to be influential through being sought, have the lowest communicator and giver ratios (the nearest to the average for their districts) of any public school parent orientation group. Thus, reciprocity seems helpful to their success.

Influence success is slightly related to greater use of external attributions and of verifiable content. This occurs only in the hands of opinion leaders, evidently, for external, nonverifiable content is the most highly related to influence success and external, nonverifiable content is used most often by persons not likely to be opinion leaders.

Those of high parent, low citizen orientation and those of low parent, high ctiizen orientation with strong opinions make the most use of verifiable, internal content. Those of high parent, low citizen orientation who are favorable and those of low parent, high citizen orientation who are unfavorable to schools tend to initiate conversations downward. Both of these types attempt more influence but neither achieves success.

We found that influence attempts and successes were somewhat more likely to occur at the beginning and toward the end of the pre-election periods we studied.

Later conversations tend to be with a conversant the respondent expects to agree with him.

Those of high parent, low citizen orientation who comprise the sought-after influentials, attended most to election topics in their information exposures. Their influence through being sought may be specific to the election issues.

Thus, the picture we have of influence flow is largely one of values being asserted by those who have the highest interest in school affairs and generally accepted by others in proportion to the amount of attempts made. The kind of influence exerted is for the most part reinforcement of values already held.

Influence occurs largely between similar types of persons. Those persons who attempt to influence others to more extreme views of the schools or those who try to influence persons at a different level of knowledge than themselves are generally without success.

The Schools and Informal Communication

What are school leaders to do about informal communication processes? We can say with some confidence they are now in a better position to understand what is going on. They can better assess the role of the schools in informal dissemination of information and their chances of exerting effective influence.

The hope that, fortuitously, dissemination and feedback will occur because of existing informal communication is probably not to be fulfilled. There is little evidence that communication leaders exist in these districts to disseminate information and to provide, at least potentially, feedback to the schools. And although the amount of informal communication is great, it tends to be diffuse.

The fact that rather large networks of informal communicators could be found is somewhat deceptive. If respondent A talked to respondent B, and respondent C talked to respondent D, then later respondent B may have talked to respondent C, providing a potential link between respondent A and D. However, if subsequently B did not talk to A, or C to D, then the link is only potential

It appears that school people must recognize that there are important subgroups among the public who do concern themselves with school affairs. Since in each group most of the conversations are with persons like oneself, there is little likelihood that effective diffusion of information will occur through communication relays.

It might prove useful for school people to direct individually tailored communications toward each of these important groups, such as the preschool parents and the postschool parents, rather than trying to develop informational programs that would find a hearing in all such groups.

It is also clear that the school should not depend on people seeking information about schools. Those who do are persons already more likely to have information about the schools. In particular, there is no relationship between citizen orientation and seeking. Those of high citizen orientation are important disseminators of information because of their gregariousness, and their greater exposure to information sources of all kinds.

The lack of seeking among school people is of some concern. Given the desire to take cognizance of public opinion in the determination of school policies, this lacking factor in the feedback of information to the schools becomes of great importance.

One problem in the dissemination of accurate information about schools has been located rather specifically. The use of external, non-verifiable content in conversations is highest among those of high citizen, low parent orientation. What appears to be rumor content in these persons' conversations might be now more susceptible to control, since these persons are easily located by their organizational memberships. An attack might be mounted on the problem through the formal dissemination of information in their organization. This would take advantage of the availability of the values of group membership in blocking the transmission of rumors among organization members.

Generally, informal communication represents participation based on interest. School people can recognize that these interests are representative of the consumer view which citizens take of school product. Some of their communication can be fitted to the citizen's expectation that the conduct of school policy will be open and that the management of the schools will be dependable. Some of the communicatory behavior of the schools must necessarily be directed toward this reassuring function, with no intent of influencing the citizens to take a more favorable position toward the schools.

With regard to influence, school people must realize that attitudinal conversion is unlikely to occur in informal communication. What influence occurs through reciprocity of informal communication indicates slight modifications of attitudes, either through reinforcement or rather specific changes. An example of the latter is seen in the probable influence wielded by females of high parent, low citizen orientation on specific election issues.

Several implications for the influence behavior of school people themselves can be seen in our findings. School people are seemingly reluctant to seek out individuals in informal conversation, but those who do seek are more influential.

The school people who are sought out for information or opinion are those who have high exposure to information sources in the district and those who are favorable toward local schools.

The receptivity of individuals to modification of their views is probably greatest at the beginning and end of the pre-election period. Furthermore, seeking behavior tends to be higher toward the end of the pre-election period. The availability of rather specific information aimed at modification of attitudes might be timed with this in mind.

Among public school parents, those who are sought tend to be of high parent orientation. However, these people are not so likely to make use of information sources available to them (e.g. the mass media, public meetings, etc). It would appear that some kind of parent meeting (e.g. coffee clatches) would be of special value in this regard, particularly if held toward the end of the election period when seeking most often occurs.

While most influence does occur in conversations among people who have the same characteristics, such horizontal conversations are not, in and of themselves, influential. Having parents talk to parents about the need for the improvements being asked in an election is probably useful. It can avoid communication boomerangs based on a perception by one of the conversants that the other is trying to assume an authority relationship. It does not, in and of itself, prevent another potential boomerang--that interest may be stirred up without edification on the election issues.

The moderates succeed; those of extreme opinions do not. One conversant may not accept what the other says, just because the latter feels strongly about an issue. The success of reciprocity suggests a different approach in person-to-person contacts.

Strong endorsements may work only to the extent that they are expected from key people. This kind of influence is analogous to the harbor buoy, that ships use to steer their way. Certain persons are expected to know the preferred course of action in the light of the public opinion, and the public decides on the basis of these observed positions.

Should these kinds of influentials alter their position, then their effectiveness as influentials might dissipate very quickly. Thus, unexpected strong endoresements from such sources may not serve the purpose anticipated.

In Conclusion

If we note the origin of our study in the problems of support for public education, we see there an interest in the flow of information as it affects successful influence.

The schools must survive. Some values need to be evoked in active support of the local schools. Other values need to be changed.

Those of us in communication research are looked to for "principles" --for the most effective means of achieving influence.

But our results show that different people exert different kinds of influence in different ways on different kinds of people. Experience suggests as much. Aside from authority relationships, influence is earned by attention to situational detail.

This is not to say that communication skills are unnecessary. What we would say, however, is that we are not likely to be able to prescribe any one communication behavior necessary and sufficient to achieve influence in a given situation.

We are not likely to be able to put together a compendium of communication behaviors to fit the many situations in which school leaders would like to exert influence.

While we do not anticipate success in fashioning a pharmaceutical encyclopedia for school leaders to use in curing their various communication ills, we do see one communication principle inherent in successful influence. That principle is relevance.

The relevance may be of the speaker. It may be of the content. It may be of the hearer. It may be of many aspects of the situation.

In use, this principle of relevance acts as a criterion. It has much of its utility in telling us what will not work, i.e. in avoiding boomerangs.

In this sense, relevance as a criterion acts to insure that the necessary condition for influence has been met.

More specifically, it acts as a criterion to help achieve the desired influence. It avoids the communication boomerang that occurs when the hearer perceives a relevancy unintended by the speaker. The hearer may not be an appropriate audience for the message. He may misconstrue the content. He may assess the speaker to the disadvantage of the latter's intent.

What communication research can do is to specify the aspects of relevance and to search out the conditions under which relevant communication occurs or does not occur.

The results of communication research are going to be slow in coming to the help of school leaders. Our pessimistic view derives from the nature of the problem and the nature of the research undertaken on the problem.

The nature of the problem itself defies easy solution. Relevance is determined by so many aspects of the situation that many complex interactions must be studied before we have the beginnings of a comprehension of the problem.

Unfortunately, the nature of the research on communication behavior has precluded our attaining such a comprehension, for our research typically confounds the problem of information flow with that of influence flow. Our aims have been to see what is effective in changing values. We have focused on the behavioral consequences of communication behaviors--not on the communication processes themselves.

Viewed another way, what we have done in the past has been to look for communication behaviors sufficient to account for changes in values. But since the function of communication in altering values is primarily that of a necessary condition, we have learned little that can be used confidently across many situations.

Viewed still another way, what we need to do in communication research is to find out the conditions under which one may effectively communicate to another the values he holds. Whether the message alters the values of the other is--in the literal sense--a secondary matter.

This brings us back to the origin of our study again--the problem of support for public education. Our work was initiated by a group of school leaders who felt that "understanding" was the element lacking in those instances where support was withheld.

A definition of understanding adopted in previous studies of the support problem follows the distinction between communication process and communication effects:

> We have defined understanding as a common perception among a group of people of the existing situation. They may differ widely in their ideas as to what should be done in the situation, but in a state of understanding they at least agree what the situation is.[1]

With such a definition, we can meaningfull talk about the results of communication without recourse to some later effect of the message.

Improving the state of understanding is a task that requires the constant use of the criterion of relevance in communication behavior.

In the absence of detailed knowledge about conditions affecting relevance that can specifically govern the individual's communication behavior, we shall consider an alternative general means for improving communication relevance--and understanding.

---

[1] Richard F. Carter, "Communication, Understanding, and Support for Public Education" Paris-Stanford Studies in Communication, 1962, Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1962. Also see: Carter, "Communication and Affective Relations", op. cit. In this article an attempt is made to conceptualize relevance such that a different approach to communication research can be undertaken. See Chapter I.

About half of the informal conversations we studied here that had the upcoming election as a topic, also included another school-related topic. This recalls the difficulty of maintaining relevance of discussion to the election issue that we noted in Chapter I.

The lack of formal relationships in which values relative to education can be expressed by the voters would account for this plethora of "irrelevancies."

Perhaps the answer is to increase the number of formal relationships. If there were a formal review of each major issue, then the dangerous contamination of irrelevancy might be avoided.

The mode of these new formal relationships need not be that of the election. The important point is that communication behavior, relevant to each issue, occur at a defined time.

A representational mode could be used, but it would have to be explicitly representational. The interested person would have to be aware of each stage in the formal review. He must not only have knowledge of when his representatives are available. He must also know how to express his values.

Since most important issues involve some change in educational policy, what this amounts to is an institutionalization of change procedures. If the public can expect a certain set of steps to be taken prior to a final review, if it can see when and how to participate, then it may come to understand.

If those who are looked to for guidance by the public (e.g. the mass media) see that each important issue is met in such a way, then there is even the chance that they will help enforce relevance in reviews of issues.

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Community and School Survey

______________________________	______________________________
respondent's name	date of interview
______________________________	______________________________
respondent's address	interviewer

Hello, I'm ____(name)______. Here is my identification [show credentials]. I'm conducting interviews for Stanford University. I'd like to interview you on what you think about the local schools.

To begin with, there is some general information we'd like to have.

1. How many years have you lived in ___(name of city)___? _____years

2. How long have you lived in this (house or apartment)? _____years

[if house] Do you own this house or are you renting it? ___own___rent

3. Would you please tell me the name of everyone over 21 who lives here?	4. What are their occupations?
Resp.______________________________	Resp.______________________________
b.______________________________	b.______________________________
c.______________________________	c.______________________________
d.______________________________	d.______________________________
e.______________________________	e.______________________________

Which is the main earner? [Circle appropriate letter.]

5. Are you or have you ever been married? ____yes ____no

[if yes] How many children have you? _____

How old are they?	What grades are they in?	Do they go to public (1) or private (2) schools?
a.________	a.________	a.________
b.________	b.________	b.________
c.________	c.________	c.________
d.________	d.________	d.________
e.________	e.________	e.________

Now, we'd like to ask you some general questions about the local schools.

6. Have you talked with anyone at all in the last_____days about anything related to the local schools? This includes talking with your (husband or wife) and children.

_____yes _____no

If yes Who have you talked with?

Record on REPORT OF CONVERSATION FORM and continue questioning from that form.

After each conversation is recorded, probe:
"Have you talked with anyone else?"
Obtain reports of all conversations respondent recalls.

if no to Q. 6:

When the left-hand box below contains a name, ask Q. 7:

When that box does not contain a name, ask Q. 8:

7. Do you recall having a conversation with

( )

about some school matter in the last ___ days?

If yes: record on REPORT OF CONVERSATION FORM and continue questioning from that form. Indicate question was asked by circling (7) in upper left corner of form.

If no, or if this box contains no name, follow instructions in right-hand box.

If respondent has cited no election conversations, ask:

8. Have you talked with anyone at all in the last ___ days about the forthcoming school (tax or bond) election in (name of city)?

If yes: record on REPORT OF CONVERSATION FORM and continue questioning from that form.. Indicate question was asked by circling (8) in upper left corner of form.

If no: go to Q. 25.

Where respondent has said yes to Q. 6, and has reconstructed his conversations look at the left-hand box below:

If this box contains a name, and the respondent has not given this name as someone he has talked to, ask:

I. Do you recall having a conversation with

( )

about some school matter in the last days?

If yes: record on REPORT OF CONVERSATION FORM, and continue questioning from that form. Indicate that this question was asked by circling (I) in the upper left corner of the form.

If no, or if this box contains no name, follow instructions in right-hand box.

If respondent has cited no election conversations, ask:

II. Have you talked with anyone at all in the last ( ) days about the forthcoming school (bond or tax) election in (name of city)?

If yes: record on REPORT OF CONVERSATION FORM, and continue questioning from that form. Indicate use of question by circling (II) in upper left corner. After this conversation has been reconstructed, or if respondent indicates no election conversations -- then continue below:

23. Would you name for me the three persons you most often talk with when you talk about school matters?

(1)____________________ (2)____________________

(3)____________________

24. Would you name for me the three persons you most often turn to for advice or opinion about school matters?

(1)____________________ (2)____________________

(3)____________________

Hand RESPONDENT'S COPY to respondent. Continue questioning. Circle numbers which correspond to respondent's answers Respondent is not to write on RESPONDENT'S copy.

Here are some questions about what you think of the local schools. I'll read the questions and please tell me which answer is closest to your own.

25. On the whole, would you say that the schools in this district are doing a good job?

not good at all__1__; not very good__2__; somewhat good__3__;
pretty good__4__; very good__5__; don't know__0__.

26. Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the local schools?

not at all__5__; not very much__4__; somewhat__3__;
pretty much__2__; very much__1__; don't know__0__.

27. Are there a lot of sugar-coating and frills in the schools here, would you say?

not at all__5__; not very much__4__; some__3__;
pretty much__2__; very much__1__; don't know__0__.

28. As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste of time for many of the local youngsters?

not at all__5__; not very much__4__; somewhat__3__;
pretty much__2__; very much__1__; don't know__0__.

29. Compared with the average person you know, how do you feel about the local schools? Would you say you favor them more, less, or about the same as the average person you know?

more__5__; about the same__3__; less__1__; don't know__0__.

30. Some people feel that schools cost them more than the average person. Would you say that the local schools cost you more, less, or about the same as the average person?

more__1__; about the same__3__; less__5__; don't know__0__.

31. Does it look to you as if business conditions in the next 12 months will be better, worse, or about the same as the last 12 months?

better than the last 12 months__5__;
about the same as the last 12 months__3__;
worse than the last 12 months__1__;
don't know__0__.

32. Do you feel that your own tax load is too much of a burden for what you get in return?

not at all 5 ; not very much 4 ; somewhat 3 ,
pretty much 2 ; very much 1 ; don't know 0 .

33. Generally speaking, would you say that taxes are already as high as they ought to go?

not high at all 5 ; not very high 4 ; somewhat 3 ;
pretty high 2 ; very high 1 ; don't know 0 .

34. How often have you talked about the local schools with a neighbor?

not at all 1 ; not very often 2 ; sometimes 3 ;
pretty often 4 ; very often 5 ; don't know 0 .

35. How often can you recall talking to someone recently about some problem in the local schools?

not at all 1 ; not very often 2 ; sometimes 3 ;
pretty often 4 ; very often 5 ; don't know 0 ;

36. Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or a member of the family read?

not at all 1 ; not very often 2 ; sometimes 3 ;
pretty often 4 ; very often 5 ; don't know 0 .

37. Can you recall criticizing anything lately that the schools did -- or didn't do?

not at all 1 ; not very often 2 ; sometimes 3 ;
pretty often 4 ; very often 5 ; don't know 0 .

38. How often have you discussed with a friend or a member of your family how the local schools compare with other school systems?

not at all 1 ; not very often 2 ; sometimes 3 ;
pretty often 4 ; very often 5 ; don't know 0 .

39. How interested in the local schools would you say you are, compared with the average person you know? Would you say your interest is more, less or about the same as the average person's?

more than the average person's 5 ;
about the same as the average person's 3 ;
less than the average person's 1 ;
don't know 0 .

40. Since completing your education, how often have you visited public schools or attended school functions?

not at all__1__; not very often__2__; sometimes__3__;
pretty often__4__; very often__5__; don't know__0__.

41. How often have you attended meetings of school organizations like the PTA?

not at all__1__; not very often__2__; sometimes__3__;
pretty often__4__; very often__5__; don't know__0__.

42. How often have you talked by phone or in person with a school official or teacher?

not at all__1__; not very often__2__; sometimes__3__;
pretty often__4__; very often__5__; don't know__0__.

43. How often in the past year have matters concerning the schools crossed your mind?

not at all__1__; not very often__2__; sometimes__3__;
pretty often__4__; very often__5__; don't know__0__.

44. Is there anything about the local schools that you are particularly proud of?

yes no if yes What?

1______________________________ 2______________________________

3______________________________ 4______________________________

45. In some national surveys, these statements were made by some of the people interviewed. Would you agree or disagree with these statements:

a. I don't think public school officials care much what people like me think. agree__1__; disagree__5__; don't know__0__.

b. Voting is the only way people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run.
agree__1__; disagree__5__; don't know__0__.

c. People like me don't have much say about what the schools do.
agree__1__; disagree__5__; don't know__0__.

d. Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
agree__1__; disagree__5__; don't know__0__.

46. Next week, the voters in this district will be asked to approve (an increase in the school tax or a school bond issue).

How likely is it that you will vote in the school election next week?

very likely__5__; pretty likely__4__; fairly likely__3__;
not very likely__2__; not at all likely__1__;
not eligible or not registered__X__; don't know__0__.

47. Did you vote in the last school financial election in this district?

yes__2__; no__1__; not eligible or not registered__X__.

48. Whether in this city or elsewhere, how regularly would you say you have voted in school elections of all kinds in recent years?

very regularly__5__; pretty regularly__4__; fairly regularly__3__;
not very regularly__2__; not at all__1__; not eligible or not registered__X__;
don't know__0__.

49. If the election were being held today, how do you think you would vote on (the request for an increase in the school tax or the school bond issue)?

certainly vote for__4__; probably vote for__3__;
probably vote against__2__; certainly vote against__1__; don't know__0__.

50. Do you think the proposal for (an increase in the school tax or the school bonds) will pass or fail?

pass__2__; fail__1__; don't know__0__.

Will it (pass or fail) by:

a very large amount__4__; a large amount__3__;
a small amount__2__; a very small amount__1__; don't know__0__.

CONTINUE ON NEXT PAGE

51. Do you belong to a PTA or some other public school parent group? _____yes_____no

if no, or if person is not a parent, go to Q. 58

if yes What elected offices have you held in the group? When?

____

What appointive offices have you held? When?

____

Ask respondent to turn page in RESPONDENT'S COPY

These questions are concerned with the parent group you belong to. I'll read the questions. Please choose an answer.

52. Is it likely that you will remain in this parent group after your children complete their public education?

not likely at all___1___; not very likely___2___; somewhat likely___3___;
pretty likely___4___; very likely___5___; don't know___0___.

53. Compared with most other members of this group, would you say your loyalty to the group is less than, about the same as, or more than the average member of the group?

less than___1___; about the same___3___; more than___5___; don't know___0___.

54. How would you feel about leaving the group if your child were transferred to another school in which there was no such group?

very regretful___5___; pretty regretful___4___; somewhat regretful___3___;
not very regretful___2___; not at all regretful___1___; don't know___0___.

55. If it were against this group's policy to donate funds to other organizations and yet a majority of your group decided to contribute funds to build a youth center, would you go along with their decision?

not at all likely___1___; not very likely___2___; somewhat likely___3___;
pretty likely___4___; very likely___5___; don't know___0___.

56. Parent groups usually do not interfere with administrative officials, and yet if a majority of your group signed a petition urging the superintendent to ask for a certain teacher's resignation, would you go along with the petition?

very likely___5___; pretty likely___4___; somewhat likely___3___;
not very likely___2___; not at all likely___1___; don't know___0___.

57. If it were against this group's policy to endorse school board candidates, and yet a majority of the group decided to support a particular candidate, would you go along with their decision?

very likely___5___; pretty likely___4___; somewhat likely___3___;
not very likely___2___; not at all likely___1___; don't know___0___.

58. What organizations and clubs do you belong to other than parent groups?

Have you ever been an elected officer in any of them? When?
Have you ever been an appointive officer in any of them? When?

Clubs	Elected--when	Appointed--when
________	yes no _____	yes no _______
________	yes no _____	yes no _______
________	yes no _____	yes no _______
________	yes no _____	yes no _______
________	yes no _____	yes no _______

59. To what extent have you ever found yourself supporting a group, other than a parent group, which was endorsing something the schools were doing?

very much__5__; pretty much__4__; somewhat__3__;
not very much__2__; not at all__1__; don't know__0__.

What was the name of the group?________________________
What was it endorsing?________________________________

60. To what extent have you ever found yourself supporting a group, other than a parent group, which was opposing something the schools were doing?

very much__5__; pretty much__4__; somewhat__3__;
not very much__2__; not at all__1__; don't know__0__.

What was the name of the group?________________________
What was it opposing?_________________________________

61. How would you like to listen to a discussion about a controversial national education problem?

very much__5__; pretty much__4__; somewhat__3__;
not very much__2__; not at all__1__; don't know__0__.

62. How would you like to listen to a discussion about a controversial local educational problem?

not at all__1__; not very much__2__; somewhat__3__;
pretty much__4__; very much__5__; don't know__0__.

63. If you attended a meeting dealing with educational problems, how would you like to listen to an outstanding local speaker?

very much__5__; pretty much__4__; somewhat__3__;
not very much__2__; not at all__1__; don't know__0__.

64. If you attended a meeting dealing with educational problems, how would you like to listen to an outstanding national speaker?

not at all__1__; not very much__2__; somewhat__3__;
pretty much__4__; very much__5__; don't know__0__.

65. How much would you say you are interested in local problems in this community?

very much__5__; pretty much__4__; somewhat__3__;
not very much__2__; not at all__1__; don't know__0__.

66. How much would you say you are interested in problems outside the local community?

very much__5__; pretty much__4__; somewhat__3__;
not very much__2__; not at all__1__; don't know__0__.

Get RESPONDENT'S COPY from respondent

For 67-72, probe: anything else

67. Have you attended a school board meeting lately? yes no
If yes What was discussed? ______________________________

____

68. Have you attended any club meetings or other social gatherings lately where local school matters were discussed? yes no

If yes What was discussed?______________________________

____

69. Have you attended any public meetings or speeches lately where local school matters were discussed? yes no

If yes What was discussed?______________________________

____

70. Have you read any bulletins, pamphlets or anything in the mail lately about local school matters? yes no

If yes What were they about?______________________________

____

71. Have you watched anything on television lately concerning something about local school matters? yes no

If yes What was it about?______________________________

____

72. Have you heard anything on radio **lately concerning** something about local school matters? yes no

[If yes] What was it about? ______________________________

____

73. Have you read anything in your newspaper lately about something concerning local school matters? yes no

[If yes] What did you read about? ______________________________

____

____

____

Now just a few final questions.

74. What was the last grade you finished in school? [circle answer]

to 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 or more

75. What is your age? __________

76. [Record sex: male female]

77. Is there anything else, in general, about the local schools which we have not discussed that you would like to tell us?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR HELPING US

7 8 I II

REPORT OF CONVERSATION FROM #____ Respondent: ________________

Who have you talked with:
(in this conversation)

a. ______________________________
b. ______________________________
c. ______________________________
(names)

NOW I'D LIKE YOU TO THINK BACK TO THIS CONVERSATION. TRY TO RECALL AS MUCH AS YOU CAN ABOUT WHAT WAS SAID IN THIS CONVERSATION BY ALL THE BARTICIPATNS.

9. First, when did this conversation take place? ________________

10. Where were you at the time? ______________________________

11. How did you happen to start talking about the school topic?

____

WHAT WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO DO FOR US IS TO RECONSTRUCT THE CONVERSATION YOU HAD. PLEASE RECALL AS BEST YOU CAN WHAT EACH OF YOU SAID.

12. First, who brought up the subject? ________________________

13. What did (he, she, you) say? What did (you, he, she) say? Then what? What next? (Continue in this manner until conversation is completed).

____

____

____

____

____

Ask these questions of each person who participated in the conversation for Q. 16-20, hand Card 1 to respondent.

14. Compared with this person, would you say you know more about the local schools, less about the local schools, or about the same as (he, she) does?

_5_ more
_3_ less
_4_ about the same
_0_ don't know

a.	5	3	1	0
b.	5	3	1	0
c.	5	3	1	0

15. In general, do you expect this person to agree or disagree with you about local school matters? Would you say you expect (him, her) to agree with you:

5 very often;	4 pretty often;	a.	5	4	3	2	1	0
3 sometimes;	2 not very often;	b.	5	4	3	2	1	0
1 not at all;	0 don't know	c.	5	4	3	2	1	0

16. How often does this person you talked with come to you for information about the schools? Would you say:

5 very often;	4 pretty often;	a.	5	4	3	2	1	0
3 sometimes;	2 not very often;	b.	5	4	3	2	1	0
1 not at all;	0 don't know	c.	5	4	3	2	1	0

17. How often does this person come to you for your opinion about some school matter? Would you say:

5 very often;	4 pretty often:	a.	5	4	3	2	1	0
3 sometimes;	2 not very often;	b.	5	4	3	2	1	0
1 not at all;	0 don't know	c.	5	4	3	2	1	0

18. How often do you go to this person for information about the schools?

5 very often;	4 pretty often;	a.	5	4	3	2	1	0
3 sometimes;	2 not very often;	b.	5	4	3	2	1	0
1 not at all;	0 don't know	c.	5	4	3	2	1	0

19. How often do you go to this person for (his, her) opinion about some school matter? Would you say?

5 very often;	4 pretty often;	a.	5	4	3	2	1	0
3 sometimes;	2 not very often	b.	5	4	3	2	1	0
1 not at all;	0 don't know	c.	5	4	3	2	1	0

20. Who is this person?

probe: What is (his, her) relationship to you?

a. ____________________

b. ____________________

c. ____________________

21. What is (his, her) address?

if no address or street known and 0 is woman, obtain husband's first name

a. ____________________

b. ____________________

c. ____________________

Use one of these forms for each conversation respondent recalls. After each conversations, ask whether respondent recalls any other conversations. When respondent has reconstructed all possible conversations, return to page 3 in the questionnaire and continue questioning.

APPENDIX B

Indexes

Item numbers refer to the questionnaire (Appendix A).

Direct participation[1]

40. Since completing your education, how often have you visited public schools or attended school functions?

41. How often have you attended meetings of school organizations like the PTA?

42. How often have you talked by phone or in person with a school official or teacher?

43. How often in the past year have matters concerning the schools crossed your mind?

District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Coefficients of scalability: Items	Individuals
A	.97	.90	.86
B	.96	.89	.85
C	.97	.91	.88
D	.98	.93	.90
E	.97	.90	.85

---

[1] From Bush and Deutschmann: Chilton R. Bush and Paul J Deutschmann, The Inter-relationships of Attitudes Toward Schools and Voting Behavior in a School Bond Election. Department of Communication and Journalism, Stanford University, 1955.

Efficacy[2]

45. In some national surveys, these statements were made by some of the people interviewed. Would you agree or disagree with these statements:

a. I don't think public school officials care much what people like me think.

b. Voting is the only way people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run.

c. People like me don't have much say about what the schools do.

d. Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

		Coefficients of scalability:	
District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Items	Individuals
A	.93	.78	.53
B	.92	.80	.59
C	.92	.80	.60
D	.92	.70	.59
E	.89	.72	.36

Information exposure*

67. Have you attended a school board meeting lately?

68. Have you attended any club meetings or other social gatherings lately where local school matters were discussed?

69. Have you attended any public meetings or speeches lately where local school matters were discussed?

70. Have you read any bulletins, pamphlets or anything in the mail lately about local school matters?

---

[2] Based on the political efficacy index developed at Michigan: Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides. Row Peterson, Evanston, Illinois, 1954.

71. Have you watched anything on television lately concerning something about local school matters?

72. Have you heard anything on radio lately concerning something about local school matters?

73. Have you read anything in your newspaper lately about something concerning local school matters?

*These items did not scale according to the criteria used. Error patterns were random, so an index was constructed that simply gave one point for each exposure.

Interest in local affairs[3]

62. How would you like to listen to a discussion about a controversial local educational problem?

63. If you attended a meeting dealing with educational problems, how would you like to listen to an outstanding local speaker?

65. How much would you say you are interested in local problems in this community?

District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Coefficients of scalability: Items	Coefficients of scalability: Individuals
A	.96	.86	.83
B	.98	.93	.88
C	.95	.85	.77
D	.96	.87	.83
E	.98	.92	.88

---

[3] Based on work by Sutthoff: John Sutthoff, Local-Cosmopolitan Orientation and Participation in School Affairs. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, 1960.

Interest in nonlocal affairs[4]

61. How would you like to listen to a discussion about a controversial national educational problem?

64. If you attended a meeting dealing with educational problems, how would you like to listen to an outstanding national speaker?

66. How much would you say you are interested in problems outside the local community?

		Coefficients of scalability:	
District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Items	Individuals
A	.95	.81	.76
B	.97	.92	.87
C	.95	.84	.77
D	.96	.87	.80
E	.97	.91	.86

Likelihood of voting

46. Next week, the voters in this district will be asked to approve ____. How likely is it that you will vote in the school election next week?

47. Did you vote in the last school financial election in this district?

48. Whether in this city or elsewhere, how regularly would you say you have voted in school elections of all kinds in recent years.

		Coefficients of scalability:	
District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Items	Individuals
A	.96	.82	.86
B	.98	.93	.81
C	.98	.90	.77
D	.98	.90	.74
E	.99	.91	.78

---

[4] *Ibid*.

Evaluation of local schools[5]

25. On the whole, would you say that the schools in this district are doing a good job?

26. Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the local schools?

27. Are there a lot of sugar-coating and frills in the schools here, would you say?

28. As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste of time for many of the local youngsters?

29. Compared with the average person you know, how do you feel about the local schools? Would you say you favor them more, less, or about the same as the average person you know?

		Coefficients of scalability:	
District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Items	Individuals
A	.94	.77	.77
B	.93	.81	.73
C	.91	.71	.67
D	.93	.76	.70
E	.94	.79	.66

Perceived economic condition[6]

30. Some people feel that schools cost them more than the average person. Would you say that the local schools cost you more, less, or about the same as the average person?

31. Does it look to you as if business conditions in the next 12 months will be better, worse, or about the same as the last 12 months?

32. Do you feel that your own tax load is too much of a burden for what you get in return?

33. Generally speaking, would you say that taxes are already as high as they ought to go?

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[5] Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.

[6] Ibid.

District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Coefficients of scalability: Items	Individuals
A	.94	.84	.88
B	.93	.77	.76
C	.99	.95	.93
D	.97	.87	.90
E	.96	.85	.89

Communicated interest*[7]

34. How often have you talked about the local schools with a neighbor?

35. How often can you recall talking to someone recently about some problem in the local schools?

36. Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or a member of the family read?

37. Can you recall criticizing anything lately that the schools did--or didn't do?

38. How often have you discussed with a friend or a member of your family how the local schools compare with other school systems?

39. How interested in the local schools would you say you are, compared with the average person you know? Would you say your interest is more, less, or about the same as the average person's?

District	Coefficient of Reproducibility	Coefficients of scalability: Items	Individuals
A	.94	.81	.66
B	.91	.68	.68
C	.94	.77	.75
D	.93	.80	.72
E	.93	.75	.74

*This index was used as an independent, overall estimate of communicatory activity. See Chapter XI.

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[7] Ibid. Based largely on personal communication from Deutschmann. The last item was added by Carter.

APPENDIX C

The Analysis Paradigm

The Analysis Paradigm

Many of the analyses we have made draw on the "percentage difference" method of analyzing relationships between variables. This use of the percentage difference technique allows us to apportion the variance in a criterion variable in a way analogous to the analysis of variance model. We are able to see and compare "independent" effects of several variables relative to a criterion variable. We can also view their interactions.

The simplest form of the percentage difference method has one locator (independent) variable and the criterion (dependent) variable. For example, if 20% of low parent orientation persons are communicators and 60% of high parent orientation persons are communicators, then the parent orientation is accounting for 40% of the variation in the criterion variable.

With two, and then three, locator variables, the number of inferences increases quickly. The relationships which can be studied for two independent variables and a criterion variable are illustrated below for a sample table.

Table X.1 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation.*

Joint orientation	Percent communicators
High parent, high citizen	70% (a)
High parent, low citizen	50% (b)
Low parent, high citizen	30% (c)
Low parent, low citizen	20% (d)

*The entries, a...d, are fictitious proportions of persons in the cell who participated in a conversation about the schools with someone from outside the immediate household. The base for the proportion is the number of persons in the cell. For example, a % is based on the number of high parent, high citizen persons.

These inferences can be made from the above table:

1. The parent orientation accounts for 35% of the variance in the criterion variable (average of a-c and b-d).

2. The citizen orientation accounts for 15% of the variance in the criterion variable (average of a-b and c-d).

Thus it is possible to make an inference about the comparative effects: The parent orientation accounts for more criterion variance than the citizen orientation. We can also say something about the interaction of the two orientations:

3. The joint parent-citizen orientation accounts for 50% of the variance in the criterion variable (a-d).

4. The parent orientation accounts for more variance in the criterion variable under the high citizen orientation condition than under the low citizen orientation condition (40% versus 30%; compare a-c with b-d).

5. The citizen orientation accounts for more variance in the criterion variable under the high parent orientation condition than under the low parent orientation condition (20% versus 10%; compare a-b with c-d).

The last two inferences are always converses--identical in size and direction.

Turning now to the most frequent type of table to be presented, we have three locator variables and a criterion variable as illustrated in Table X.2.

The inferences made previously for Table X.2 could be repeated for this table (e.g., the parent orientation accounts for 30% of the variance in the criterion variable--average of a-c, b-d, e-g, and f-h).

Table X.2 Communicators by Parent-Citizen Orientation and Sex.*

	Percent communicators among:	
Joint orientation	Males	Females
High parent, high citizen	50% (a)	80% (e)
High parent, low citizen	30% (b)	70% (f)
Low parent, high citizen	40% (c)	40% (g)
Low parent, low citizen	10% (d)	20% (h)

*The cell entries are fictitious proportions of communicators by joint orientation and sex.

There is an option available as to which estimate to use in such instances, and the choice depends on which of our purposes (location or causal analysis) is paramount for the variables involved. The percentage differences used here are unweighted; no adjustment is made for unequal cell frequencies. McCormick[1] recommends this use when causal analysis is the purpose, but for locator purposes recommends the use of weighted proportions. When only the orientations are used, the weights make little difference, so the two variable table gives good locator and causal results. When the test variable is introduced, in three variable tables, the purpose is primarily to elaborate our description of the process by which informal communication occurs. So the unweighted method is used, and we do not recalculate the main effects and the simple interaction involving only the orientations.

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[1] Thomas C. McCormick "Toward Causal Analysis in the Prediction of Attributes," American Sociological Review, Vol. 17 (1925).

Only new inferences will be illustrated here. These inferences are:

6. The locator variable of sex accounts for 20% of the variance in the criterion variable (average of e-a, f-b, g-c, and h-d).

7. The three locator variables (parent orientation, citizen orientation, and sex) jointly account for 70% of the variance in the criterion variable (e-d).

These two inferences tell us how much the third variable aids the locations of persons who engage in the communication behavior being studied. The two inferences are therefore much used for comparing test variables, to see which test variable adds the most to the two orientation variables.

Two new sets of two variable interactions appear, between the test variable and each of the orientation variables:

8. The joint effect of parent orientation and sex accounts for 50% of the variance in the criterion variable (average of e-c and f-d).

9. The parent orientation accounts for more variance in the criterion variable in the high condition of the test variable (more among females than among males, 45% versus 15%, compare the average of a-c and b-d with the average of e-g and f-h).[2] And, conversely:

10. The sex variable accounts for more variance in the criterion variable under the high parent condition than under the low parent condition (35% versus 5%; compare the average of e-a and f-b with the average of g-c and h-d).

A similar set can be generated for the citizen orientation and sex:

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[2] The high condition of the test variable is that category which has the higher relationship with the first criterion variable--communication per se.

11. The two variables of citizen orientation and sex jointly account for 40% of the variance in the criterion variable (average of e-b and g-d).

12. The citizen orientation accounts for more variance in the criterion variable among males than among females (25% versus 15%; compare the average of a-b and c-d with the average of e-f and g-h). And conversely:

13. The sex variable accounts for more variance in the criterion variable under the low citizen condition than under the high citizen condition (25% versus 15%; compare the average of e-a and g-c with the average of f-b and h-d).

Inferences (9) and (10), and (12) and (13) are related to each other as were inferences (4) and (5) of the previous two-variable set.

There is one other simple interaction involving all three locator variables that we shall be using:

14. The joint parent-citizen orientation accounts for more variance in the criterion variable among females than among males (60% versus 40%; compare e-h with a-d).

The interaction takes the composite of the orientations as one variable. In this type of inference, we can see if the joint orientation accounts for more variance under one condition of the test variable than under the other.

There is a triple interaction involving all three locator variables in relation to the criterion variable. They are expansions of the kind of inference listed for the two locator variable situation. Only one example is given here--an expansion of a first set inference, (4):

15. Among males, the parent orientation accounts for more variance in the criterion variable in the low citizen than in the high citizen condition (20% versus 10%; compare b-d with a-c); among females, the parent orientation also accounts for more variance in the low citizen than in the high citizen condition (50% versus 40%; compare f-h with e-g)[3]

Similar complex interaction inferences are available as expansions of inferences (5) in the first set, and of inferences (9, 10, 12, and 13) in this second set. Pairs of these expansions will be mirror images of each other, as noted in earlier interaction inferences.

Inferences can also be drawn regarding the most favorable set of conditions of two variables for the effectiveness of the third. These go as follows:

16. To find the most favorable conditions for effectiveness of the parent orientation, one compares these differences: e.g. (high test, high citizen), f-h (high test, low citizen), a-c (low test, high citizen), and b-d (low test, low citizen). For this example, the most favorable set of conditions is f-h, females of low citizen orientation.

17. To find the most favorable conditions for the citizen orientation, we compare: e-f, g-h, a-b, and c-d. For this example, the most favorable set of conditions for the citizen orientation is c-d, males of low parent orientation.

18. To find the most favorable conditions for the test variable, we compare: e-a, f-b, g-c, and h-d. For this example, the sex difference is greatest in the high parent, low citizen orientation condition.

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[3] Note that there is no interaction effect here. The interaction effect is the difference between differences--here, 10% minus 10% or zero.

If the effect of the test variable is greatest in the low parent, low citizen condition, then we might conclude that it is a functional equivalent for one or both of these orientations. It is substituting in their absence. But if the effect of the test variable is greatest in one of the other conditions, then a different conclusion may be drawn--that the condition is contributory to the effectiveness of this variable.

Over several test variables, these "optimum" conditions can be compared for suggestive inferences.

We do not report all of the possible inferences for each table. What we have done is to analyze each table for all inferences, note the more important of the inferences, and then make comparisons of four types:

1. For any given table, a comparison may be made between main effects or between interactions.

2. Across several tables, a comparison may be made of the inferences obtained with different test variables introduced. Usually, this will be within one of three categories of test variables--demographic (e.g., sex, age, education); participatory (e.g., direct participation, efficacy, information exposure); and attitudinal (e.g., evaluation of local schools, pride). A few summary statements comparing all test variables will be found at the end of each chapter.

3. Any given inference may be compared with the average of similar inferences if the deviation of that inference from the average is of some significance. For example, if one of the orientations was to have no effect on the criterion variable under one of the test variable conditions, while it usually had some effect under most

conditions, this distinction should be of interest. One of the worst communication problems is the boomerang--where a "principle" is overextended.

Statistical tests were not made of the results reported. They would be appropriate for the predictive value of the locator variables. In Chapter II, two of these, the parent and citizen orientations, account for variance in the communicator-noncommunicator analysis singly and jointly far beyond minimal levels of statistical significance. When other variables are introduced to describe communicators, it is mostly for elaboration; that is, we want to draw inferences about the nature of informal communication behavior.

Similarly, when we turn in later chapters to an elaboration of a criterion variable, an aspect of informal communicatory behavior, our intention is to examine its various dimensions for clues about informal communication processes.

At several points, the test variable is trichotomized rather than dichotomized. In distinguishing between communicators and noncommunicators, this practice shows curvilinear relationships betweeen the test variable and the criterion variable. Only one of these trichotomies is carried over into the analysis of dimensions of informal communication, that being evaluation of local schools.

The analysis procedure we are using takes only the information from the outside columns. Thus curvilinear relationships are remarked on outside the framework of inferences previously discussed.

The tables which follow contain most of the analysis results used in Chapters II, IV, V, VI and VII. The form of the results follows the line of inference-types discussed here. Those dealing only with the two orientation types and a criterion variable are not included. These are the results for the three variable analyses.

The reader should observe several cautions. Signs are used for different purposes--sometimes to indicate the direction of the relationship between a variable and the criterion variable, sometimes to indicate which condition of the variable is being considered. The phrase "greater effect" and its equivalents are used for convenience. In several cases the greater effect may simply be that a variable is less negatively related to the criterion variable under the given condition.

Tables C.1 through C.20 are ordered in the sequence that they are used in the text for commentary. The format there is as follows:

Independent effect of parent orientation;
Optimum conditions for effect of parent orientation (C.1);

Independent effect of citizen orientation;
Optimum conditions for effect of citizen orientation (C.2);

Independent effect of test variable (C.3);
Optimum conditions for effect of test variable (C.4);

Joint effect of orientations;
Optimum conditions for effect of joint orientation (C.5);

Joint effect of parent orientation and test variable (C.6);
Optimum conditions for joint effect (C.7);

Joint effect of citizen orientation and test variable (C.8);
Optimum conditions for joint effect (C.9);

Joint effect of both orientations and test variable (C.10);

Interactive effect of two orientations;
Optimum conditions for interactive effect of orientations
(C.12, C.13);

Interactive effect of parent orientation and test variable (C.14);
Optimum conditions for interactive effect (C.15, C.16);

Interactive effect of citizen orientation and test variable (C.17);
Optimum conditions for interactive effect (C.18, C.19); and,

Effect of test variable among school people (C.20).

Table C.11 serves a special function. It gives the extent of the triple interaction involving a test variable and the two orientations relative to a given criterion variable. The entries serve as a check for possible misinterpretation of results reported in Tables C.12, C.13, C.15, C.16, C.18, and C.19. We have reported these latter results in the most readable manner. In a few instances a large number in one of these tables may derive from a simple interaction rather than from a triple interaction. If the number in the corresponding cell of Table C.11 is not as large--or larger, usually--than that in the cell of one of the latter Tables, the latter result should be discounted. For example, either orientation may be more effective in the high condition of the other orientation whatever the condition of the test variable.

Table C. 1 Optimum Effect of Parent Orientation on Criterion Variable. *

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	LH, 41	HL, 11	HL, 20	HH, 20	HH, 28	HL, 26	LH, 9	LH, 25	HH, 8	HL, 14	HH HL, 3	HH, 20	HH, 20
Age	HH, 44	HL, 17	HH, 18	HL, 15	LH, 29	HL, 40	LL, 11	LL, 8	LH + LL, - 10	HL, 24	LL, 5	HL, 19	HH, 9
Education	LH, 39	LL, 21	LL, 28	LH, 24	LH, 14	LL, 31	LH, 14	LH, 11	LH, 28	HL, 16	LH, -7	LH, 32	LH, 17
No. of child.	HH, 47	LL, 18	HL, 18	HL, 14	HH, 19	HL, 29	LL, -6	HL, 11	HH, 10	HL, 20	HL, 5	LL, 21	HH LH, 8
Lgth. of resid.	HH, 47	LL, 15	HL, 23	LL, 20	HH, 13	LL, 32	LL, -8	LL, 12	LH, 11	LH, 20	HL, 8	HL, 19	LL, 15
Dir. of partic. **	HH, 37												
Efficacy	LH, 42	HL, 14	LL, 23	LL, 12	HH, 17	HL, 26	LL, -10	HL, 8	HH, 11	LL, 17	HL, 6	HL, 22	LH, 18
Info. expos.	HH, 42	LL, 24	LL, 33	HL, 12	HH, 22	HL, 31	LL + HL, - 7	LL, 14	HH, 15	HL, 15	LH, 9	HL, 15	HH, 10
Int., local	LH, 39	LL, 20	LH, 21	LL, 15	HH, 21	LL, 33	LL, -5	LL, 9	LL + HL, -13	LH, 24	LL, 7	LH, 22	LH, 14
Int., nonloc.	HH, 36	HL, 46	HL, 24	HL, 31	LH, 17	HL, 40	HL, 12	HL, 29	HL, 19	LL, 18	HL, 11	HL, 46	HL, 20
Vote likelihood**	LH, 50												
Eval. of school	MH, 46	HL LL, 17	HL, 31	LL LH, 19	HH, 22	HL LL, 31	LL, 22	LH, 27	LH, 28	LL, 36	LH, -14	HL, 31	HL, 14
Pride	LH, 40	LL, 14	LL, 27	HL, 19	HH, 15	LL, 30	LH LL, -5	HL, 11	LH, 14	LL, 20	LL, 5	HH, 21	HL, 15
Vote pref. **	LL, 50												
Econ. cond.	LH, 42	HL, 22	HL, 17	LH, 12	LH, 18	LL, 31	LH, -6	HL, 13	LH, 15	HL, 23	HL, 12	HL, 23	HH, 14

* The joint condition of test variable and citizen orientation in which the parent orientation is most effective is given, followed by the extent of the relationship between parent orientation and the criterion variable (positive and/or negative).

** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 2 Optimum Effect of Citizen Orientation on Criterion Variable. *

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	LH, 28	LL, 23	HL, 11	LL, 19	HH, 19	LL, 15	LL, -8	HL, ±7 LL,	HH, 18	LL, 23	LL, 9	LL, 28	LL, 26
Age	MH, 29	HL, 20	LL, 19	LH, 16	LH, 20	HH, -17	LH, -14	Lh, -6	LH, 28	HL, 14	LH, -8	HL, 19	HH, 14
Education	HH, 26	HL, 9	LL, 16	LH, 18	LH, 20	LH, -34	HH, -10	LL, -11	LH, 26	LL, 8	Lh, -12	LH, 18	LH, 22
No. of child.	LH, 36	HH, 16	LL, 16	LL, LH, 18	HH, 20	HL, 22	LL, -9	LL, -6	HH, 18	HL, 12	LL, LH, -8	HL, 16	HH, 13
Lgth. of resid.	HH, 28	LL, 16	HL, 20	LL, 19	LH, 19	LH, -15	HH, -8	LL, ±7 HL,	LL, 18	HL, 18	HH, -10	HL, 19	HH, 14
Dir. partic. **	LH, 37												
Efficacy	LH, 26	LL, 16	LL, 19	LL, 27	HH, 14	LH, -20	LL, -8	LH, 18	LH, 27	LL, 19	HH, -7	LH, 34	LH, 30
Info. expos.	LH, 30	LL, 22	LL, 24	LL, 15	HL, -17	HL, 18	HL, -10	LL, 9	LL, 21	LH, 9	HH, -6	LL, 19	LH, 16
Int., local	LH, 32	LL, 16	LL, LH, 13	LL, 20	HH, 19	LL, 16	HH, -11	HL, -6	HH, 21	HL, 15	HL, -7	LH, 23	LH, 18
Int., nonloc.	HH, 25	HL, 17	LL, 9	LL, 13	HL, 16	HH, -18	HH, -13	HH, -22	LH, 17	LL, 10	HH, -15	HH, -28	LH, 18
Vote likelihood**	LH, 27												
Eval. of school	MH, 30	MH, 18	HL, 16	LL LH, 20	HH, 26	HL, 25	HH, -21	HH, -20	LH, 26	LL, 22	LL, 14	LL, 26	HL, 19
Pride	HH, 25	LL, 11	LL, 21	LH, 16	HH, 21	HL, 17	HH, -10	HH, -5	HH, 17	LL, 9	HH, -11	LL, 20	LH, 19
Vote pref. **	MH, 43												
Econ. cond.	LH, 29	HL, 18	LL, 11	LH, 22	LH, 25	LL, 14	HL, -9	LL, -10	LH, 25	HL, 14	HH, -14	LH, 32	LH, 15

* The joint condition of test variable and citizen orientation in which the parent orientation is most effective is given, followed by the extent of the relationship between parent orientation and the criterion variable (positive and/or negative).

** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 3 Independent Relationship of Test Variable with Criterion Variable.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	63	65	43	27	-1	55	-16	37	55	-35	3	15	1
Age	47	59	33	41	49	17	31	27	65	0	10	36	9
Education	21	41	15	-3	-22	2	38	38	10	25	-2	11	-15
No. of child.	6	22	-6	6	-8	22	14	-18	-3	12	-15	32	10
Lgth. of resid.	36	-18	-14	3	-36	8	2	-20	-21	27	13	-16	-31
Dir. partic.***	69												
Efficacy	11	19	5	-26	-11	14	16	-8	-3	6	14	14	5
Info. expos.	83	29	10	-16	15	19	-2	8	8	25	-12	29	18
Int., local	44	32	26	19	9	27	26	0	22	12	12	21	30
Int., nonlocal	46	54	18	13	15	29	19	26	29	11	11	43	-4
Vote likelihood***	27												
Eval. of school	14	55	16	11	-47	4	66	24	12	11	8	8	3
Pride	21	40	20	30	-8	11	18	6	19	-5	13	26	4
Vote pref.***	12												
Econ. cond.	24	20	-44	13	9	-10	3	19	18	-16	10	-12	-21

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* The extent of the relationship between the test variable and the criterion variable is tabled, along with the direction of the relationship (positive or negative). The tabled figure should be divided by four to obtain the average relationship between the test variable and the criterion variable.

** Entries in this row for the twelve dimensions of informal communication were based on three observations, so the figure tabled represents 4/3 of the observed relationship (for comparability with other table entries).

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 4 Optimum Effect of Test Variable on Criterion Variable. *

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	HL, 22	LL, 18	HH, 15	HH, LH, +12	LH, -18	HH, 17	HH, -8	LH, 26	HH, 20	LH, -18	LL, 9	HH, 21	LH, -21
Age	HH, 20	LH, 23	HL, 15	HL, 18	LH, 28	HL, 27	LL, 15	HH, 11	HL, 30	HL, 10	LH, 9	HL, LH, 11	HH, 5
Education	LH, 11	LH, 15	LL, 18	HH, -15	HH, -9	HH, 20	LL, 19	LH, 18	LL, 19	HH, 10	HH, 6	LH, 17	HH, LL -10
No. of child.	HL, 20	HH, 14	LH, -10	HL, 11	HL, -10	LH, 15	HH, 8	LL, -13	LL, -9	HH, 10	LL, -9	LH, 14	HH, LH, 4
Lgth, of resid.	HH, LL, 16	LH, -10	LL, -14	LL, 15	LH, -15	HL, -8	HL, 10	HH, -11	HH, -13	LH, 20	LH, 9	HH, -12	HL, -18
Dir. partic. **	HL, 35												
Efficacy	LL, 9	HL, 10	HH, 14	LH, -19	LH, -11	HH, 12	HL, 12	LH, -15	HL, 9	LH, -10	HL, 10	HL, 26	HL, 18
Info. expos.	HL, 38	LL, 21	LL, 23	LL, -7	LL, 17	HH, 13	LL, 9	LH, -11	LL, 16	HL, 11	HH, -10	HL, 9	HL, 11
Int., local	HL, 21	LL, 18	LL, 15	LL, 17	HH, 14	LL, 18	HL, 15	LL, 7	LL, 17	LH, 15	LL, 9	HL, 13	HL, 14
Int., nonloc.	HH, 17	HL, 38	HL, 11	HL, 23	LH, 14	HL, 19	HL, 16	HL, 25	HL, 20	LL, 7	HL, 9	HL, 43	HL, 15
Vote likelihood**	HL, 15												
Eval. of school	HH, 10	LL HL HH, 17	HH, 11	LL, 20	LH, -25	LH, 5	HL, 31	HL, 19	HL, 18	LL, 18	LH, -18	HL, 22	LH, 5
Pride	LL, 12	LL, 13	LL, 8	HL, 20	HL, -12	LH, 14	HL, 11	HL, 7	LH, 11	HL, -7	LL, 10	HH, 19	HL, 16
Vote pref. **	LL, 16												
Econ. cond.	HL, 12	HL, 15	LH, -14	HL, 13	HL, 13	HH, -11	LL, 7	LH, 11	LL, 15	LL, -16	HL, 15	HH, -19	LH, -16

* The joint condition of test variable and citizen orientation in which the parent orientation is most effective is given, followed by the extent of the relationship between parent orientation and the criterion variable (positive and/or negative).

** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 5 Optimum Condition of Test Variable for Joint Effect of Orientations on Criterion Variable.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	7	-4	15	4	7	13	-6	-17	15	-18	-10	16	8
Age	2	1	-4	-1	-14	15	-1	5	-1	4	5	4	2
Education	11	-3	-24	-21	-3	23	-25	3	-34	5	8	-18	0
No. of child.	-1	10	-1	-13	1	8	12	14	13	15	7	-5	1
Lgth. of resid.	0	-1	16	-20	-8	-1	3	-16	-25	2	-2	-7	-4
Dir. partic.**	-1												
Efficacy	-12	2	9	-11	-5	17	-2	-17	-7	-5	1	-12	7
Info. expos.	-6	-9	-20	-4	-5	19	-10	-6	-15	-7	-10	-6	-1
Int., local	-5	-9	-26	-18	11	-18	-11	-11	-13	-14	-7	-20	-2
Int., nonlocal	12	18	3	4	12	10	5	4	10	-10	-5	-11	-7
Vote likelihood**	4												
Eval. of school	9	0	17	-33	31	8	-25	-12	-26	-16	1	5	4
Pride	-9	-4	-6	-3	3	-3	-3	2	-8	-2	-15	13	2
Vote pref.**	-17												
Econ. cond.	1	5	5	-22	-10	-16	-4	14	-22	24	-3	-20	6

* The condition of the test variable under which the joint effect of the orientations on the criterion variable is greater is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure. For example, the joint effect of the orientations on total conversations is 4% greater among males than females.

** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 6 Joint Effect of Parent Orientation and Test Variable on Criterion Variable.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	99	42	35	28	4	38	1	36	31	14	9	24	9
Age	89	50	34	36	29	33	15	25	41	23	10	43	17
Education	79	44	40	22	0	22	23	33	23	34	1	40	8
No. of child.	70	31	25	22	7	41	4	1	9	29	-3	42	18
Lgth. of resid.	87	14	23	19	-6	33	-2	1	0	39	11	20	0
Dir. partic.**	88												
Efficacy	73	28	31	3	6	33	5	5	8	26	9	29	14
Info. expos.	100	32	32	11	13	34	-3	6	12	35	2	33	29
Int., local	87	35	34	26	14	40	10	12	20	32	10	37	28
Int., nonlocal	88	62	41	33	22	50	13	32	32	31	11	61	17
Vote likelihood**	96												
Eval. of school	63	52	45	28	-16	32	36	36	38	30	8	29	15
Pride	77	39	47	32	7	33	7	15	18	22	11	38	17
Vote pref.**	83												
Econ. cond.	60	30	6	25	17	25	0	21	21	16	10	19	[illegible]

* The joint effect of parent orientation and the test variable with citizen orientation held constant is tabled, along with the direction of the relationship (positive or negative). The tabled figure should be divided by two to obtain the average relationship.

** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 7 Optimum Condition of Citizen Orientation for Joint Effect of Parent Orientation and Test Variable on Criterion Variable.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	13	-16	-5	-12	6	-22	1	4	17	-24	-15	-14	-11
Age	5	-2	-16	-6	17	-27	3	3	1	-9	4	-5	5
Education	17	0	-12	-4	10	-12	-7	9	3	-8	-3	0	6
No. of child.	0	9	-13	-18	13	-13	6	5	17	-1	5	-2	6
Lgth. of resid.	3	-10	5	-13	2	-15	-6	-13	-6	3	-3	-8	6
Dir. partic.**	0												
Efficacy	5	-10	-7	-21	6	-9	1	-21	0	-18	-9	-23	10
Info. expos.	-11	-12	-16	-9	-1	-16	-7	-8	-6	-9	-4	-13	7
Int., local	1	-7	-14	-16	16	-24	-10	-8	12	-8	-8	-15	2
Int., nonlocal	16	-22	-11	-23	14	-32	-9	-18	0	-15	-11	-47	-15
Vote likelihood**	8												
Eval. of school	-5	-16	-5	-16	10	-24	-2	-2	-6	-12	-22	-27	-5
Pride	9	-5	-19	-14	21	-11	-5	-3	12	-4	-13	-8	-9
Vote pref.**	3												
Econ. cond.	8	-4	-4	-20	5	-23	-6	7	-5	2	-10	-29	-4

* The condition of citizen orientation under which the joint effect of parent orientation and test variable is greater is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure. For example, the joint effect of the parent orientation and sex is 16% greater on total conversations among those with low citizen orientation.

** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 8 Joint Effect of Citizen Orientation and Test Variable on Criterion Variable.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	69	52	52	30	-10	36	-4	38	34	10	6	36	8
Age	54	41	33	42	32	15	9	11	59	11	-1	43	24
Education	49	32	23	20	5	-3	12	8	31	18	-9	29	15
No. of child.	42	27	12	25	8	15	-2	-13	21	14	-15	39	23
Lgth. of resid.	57	9	7	18	-6	8	-5	-13	10	24	0	15	1
Dir. partic.***	72												
Efficacy	42	29	17	14	6	6	3	4	26	15	2	41	26
Info. expos.	72	28	16	13	17	12	-9	-8	9	23	-10	34	30
Int., local	60	30	20	27	14	17	5	-1	31	18	-1	36	34
Int., nonlocal	58	36	18	18	11	13	-1	4	33	12	-3	29	10
Vote likelihood***	48												
Eval. of school	30	35	24	28	-2	12	11	-6	18	23	1	34	12
Pride	47	35	33	33	8	9	2	1	31	7	-1	35	21
Vote pref.***	40												
Econ. cond.	51	27	-7	29	19	1	-5	4	33	0	-1	23	11

* The joint effect of citizen orientation and test variable with parent orientation held constant is tabled, along with the direction of the relationship (positive of negative). The tabled figure should be divided by two to obtain the average relationship.

** Entries in this row for the twelve dimensions of informal communication were based on one observation, so the figure tabled represents 2/1 of the observed relationship (for comparability with other table entries).

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 9 Optimum Condition of Parent Orientation for Joint Effect of Citizen Orientation and Test Variable on Criterion Variable.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	19												
Age	8	1	3	0	-4	5	-9	-1	19	-1	-7	-5	2
Education	9	-14	-19	-14	17	-25	-8	-6	-9	-6	-3	-17	9
No. of child.	32	-9	0	-3	12	-25	6	7	13	0	-5	-15	1
Lgth. of resid.	11	-3	-5	-14	16	-30	9	-9	-2	-10	-4	-13	-9
Dir. partic.***	28												
Efficacy	4	3	-1	-2	12	-22	7	8	16	-3	4	11	22
Info. expos.	24	-12	-18	-3	17	-12	-7	-4	9	-5	-8	-4	10
Int., local	14	-10	-16	-7	20	-35	3	-1	-7	-16	-5	-12	4
Int., nonloc.	8	10	0	8	11	-11	7	2	15	-12	-9	1	4
Vote likelihood***	11												
Eval. of school	-8	-3	4	-14	16	-32	9	4	10	-33	9	8	2
Pride	-3	-7	-17	1	10	-33	0	3	-1	-11	-7	7	17
Vote pref.***	-14												
Econ. cond.	11	1	-1	-5	17	-33	-1	2	3	4	3	3	17

* The condition of parent orientation under which the joint effect of citizen orientation and test variable is greater is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure. For example, the joint effect of the citizen orientation and education on total conversations is 14% greater among those with low parent orientation.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of the interaction between sex and citizen orientation relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 10 Joint Effect of Test Variable and Orientations on Criterion Variable.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	64	36	24	27	18	23	-7	13	25	18	6	33	25
Age	67	30	33	24	13	13	11	13	29	11	1	32	20
Education	57	30	30	18	6	17	5	10	24	21	-1	26	9
No. of child.	52	27	22	20	17	19	-4	-3	14	18	-7	33	19
Lgth. of resid.	70	18	16	22	2	21	-6	1	15	18	-3	17	11
Dir. partic.**	59												
Efficacy	55	25	31	15	14	16	-5	5	16	23	2	26	8
Info. expos.	66	32	32	16	22	17	-1	8	24	20	-3	29	20
Int., local	59	30	23	25	16	24	-1	7	25	14	4	25	18
Int., nonloc.	61	27	24	18	9	23	-2	3	20	18	-4	26	8
Vote likelihood**	58	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eval. of school	45	33	29	26	13	21	-2	-1	18	31	7	27	15
Pride	59	28	35	20	14	18	-4	4	20	18	1	35	16
Vote pref.**	63												
Econ. cond.	55	16	12	21	11	15	1	4	22	12	-4	19	11

* The joint effect of both orientations and the test variable is tabled, along with the direction of the relationship (positive or negative).

** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 11 Triple Interactions for Two Orientations and Test Variable.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	17												
Age	29	21	11	19	33	27	27	7	19	24	4	8	7
Education	7	9	9	15	8	32	12	4	2	5	10	23	25
No. of child.	0	14	8	8	30	14	6	6	7	2	7	2	4
Lgth. of resid.	28	8	10	17	4	10	8	8	19	27	21	18	11
Dir. partic.***	15												
Efficacy	1	5	33	12	21	0	20	6	7	16	0	22	43
Info. expos.	1	37	42	0	43	5	18	24	26	11	8	1	0
Int., local	14	22	4	13	25	9	8	6	20	32	10	25	22
Int., nonloc.	2	34	4	17	35	5	13	34	21	3	21	33	26
Vote likelihood***	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eval. of school	8	13	6	3	41	0	36	40	18	29	18	10	11
Pride	9	4	0	20	18	1	16	10	1	9	3	22	8
Vote pref.***	18												
Econ. cond.	18	30	6	9	18	2	17	15	2	0	24	22	1

* The tabled figures indicate the extent of the triple interaction involving a given test variable and the two orientations relative to the criterion variable. Interpretation of Tables C.12, C.13, C.15, C.16, C.18, and C.19 is based on these figures.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 12 Test Variable Conditions under which One Orientation Affects Criterion Variable More in High Condition of Other Orientation.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	-20												
Age	20	-5	1	-7	-30		11	2	-20	-5			6
Education	-11		1	-9	-19		-11	-2	-15			-12	-20
No. of child.	39	2			27		-3	-2	-12				5
Lgth. of resid.	21			5	-15		-4	1	18	-9	-8	-2	6
Dir. partic.***	-22												
Efficacy	11		8		22		-15	-5	-15			-11	-34
Info. expos.	10	11	14		32		7	9	22	-2	-3		~~3~~4
Int., local	-17	7		4	25		-6	3	19	-11	2	-9	-15
Int., nonloc.	-7	-2			-24		-3	-7	-13		-3		-11
Vote likelihood***	-21												
Eval. of school****				3	18		-34	-27	-24		2		****
Pride	12			-5	23		-7	-4	10			4	-7
Vote pref.***	12												
Econ. cond.	18	-11		-3	-25		7	-5	-11		-10	-8	4

* The condition of the test variable under which one orientation has a greater effect on the criterion variable in the high condition of the other orientation is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure. For example, each orientation has 5% more effect on total conversations in the high condition of the other orientation among older persons than it does in the low condition of the other orientation. As noted in Table C.11 (footnote *), these entries should be interpreted according to Table C.11 entries. Thus, for example, the entry for education and the criterion, R gives, is not due so much to the triple interaction as to a simple interaction -- that each orientation has more effect on R gives in the high condition of the other orientation whatever the condition of education. Missing entries indicate that there is no condition of the test variable in which one orientation is more effective relative to the criterion variable in the high condition of the other orientation.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

****In these instances, one orientation is more effective in the high condition of the other orientation when a moderate evaluation of the local schools is held.

Table C. 13 Test Variable Conditions under Which One Orientation Affects Criterion Variable More in Low Condition of Other Orientation.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**													
Age	-9	16	-10	12	3	32	-16	-5		19	6	11	-1
Education		-10	-8	6		-46	1	2		-12	-12	11	5
No. of child.		-12	-10	8	-3	30	3	4		9	7	-7	
Lgth. of resid.	-7	-10	13	-12		-27	4	-7	-1	18	13	16	-5
Dir. partic.***													
Efficacy		-7	-25	-12		±24	5	1		-16	±3	11	9
Info. expos.		-26	-28	±4	-11	26	-11	-15	-4	9	5	-6	
Int., local		-15	4	-9		-25	2	-3	-1	21	-8	16	7
Int., nonloc.		32	9	18	11	29	10	27	8	10	18	34	15
Vote likelihood***	6												
Eval. of school	-15	-16	12		-23	±32	2	13		-29	-16	17	14
Pride		-6	±15	15		21	9	6		-11	4	-18	1
Vote pref.***	-6												
Econ. cond.		19	-8	6		21	-10	10		±9	14	14	

* The condition of the test variable under which one orientation has a greater effect on the criterion variable in the low condition of the other orientation is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 14 Effect of Parent Orientation on Criterion Variable under Varying Conditions of Test Variable.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	11												
Age	5	-5	15	5	-35	47	-13	1	17	12	-6	4	-1
Education	3	-17	-31	-31	4	10	-26	-12	-46	7	8	-35	3
No. of child	36	-8	12	2	0	-4	12	16	9	16	-3	-18	-4
Lgth. of resid.	8	6	6	-21	6	-16	18	-12	-21	-11	-3	-12	-19
Dir. partic.***	27												
Efficacy	-13	15	15	8	1	4	4	12	9	10	14	22	19
Info. expos.	29	-9	-22	2	13	23	-10	-2	0	-3	-14	3	12
Int., local	8	-12	-28	-9	15	-29	2	-6	-32	-22	-4	-17	0
Int., nonloc.	4	50	14	35	9	31	21	24	25	-7	-3	37	12
Vote likelihood***	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eval.of school	6	13	26	-31	37	0	-14	-6	-10	-37	32	40	1
Pride	-21	-5	-4	12	-8	-25	2	8	-21	-9	-9	28	28
Vote pref.***	-34												
Econ. cond.	4	10	8	-7	2	-26	1	9	-14	26	10	12	27

* The condition of the test variable under which the effect of the parent orientation is greater on the criterion variable, controlling for citizen orientation, is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure. For example, the effect of the parent orientation on total conversations is greater among the less educated. The tabled figure should be divided by two to obtain the average relationship.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 15 Citizen Orientation Condition under Which Parent Orientation Affects Criterion Variable More in High Condition of Test Variable.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	-14												
Age	17	-8	13	-12		-37	7	4	-18	-18		-6	3
Education	-5				-6	21				6	9		-14
No. of child.	-23	3	10	-5	±5	-5	-9	-11	-8	-9	-2		
Lgth. of resid.	18	7	-8		-5		-13			-8	-9	-3	
Dir. partic.***	-21												
Efficacy		10	24	10	11	±2	-12	-9	-8	13	±7	-22	-31
Info. expos.	15	14	10	±1	28	-14	4	11	13	-4		2	±6
Int., local	-11	5		2	20		5			-5	3	-4	-11
Int., nonloc.	-3	-42	-9	-26	-22	-18	-17	-29	-23		-9	-35	-19
Vote likelihood***	-17												
Eval. of school	7	13	-16		39		-11	-17	-4		25	-25	-6
Pride				-16	5		-9	-9				25	-18
Vote pref.***													
Econ. cond.	-11	-20	7	-1	-10		9	-12	±13		-17	-17	14

* The condition of the citizen orientation under which the parent orientation has a greater effect on the criterion variable in the high condition of the test variable (and vice-versa) is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 16 Citizen Orientation Under Which Parent Orientation Affects Criterion Variable More in Low Condition of Test Variable.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	3												
Age	-12	13		7	34		-20	-3	1	6	5	2	-4
Education	2	-13	-20	23	2	-11	19	8	24		-1	29	11
No. of child.		-11		3	-15	9					5	-10	-4
Lgth. of resid.	-10	-1	2	-19		-13		-10	-20	19	12	15	-15
Dir. partic.***													
Efficacy	-7	-23	-9	-2	-10		8			-3			12
Info. expos.			-32		-15		-14	-13	-13	7	11		
Int., local	3	-17	16	-11	-5	-19	3	-6	-26	27	-7	21	11
Int., nonloc.					13			5		5	12		7
Vote likelihood***	10												
Eval. of school	-1			-17	-2		25	23	14	-33			5
Pride	-15	-5	±2	4	-13	13	7	1	-11	-9	6		
Vote pref.***	-26												
Econ. cond.	7	10		8	8	14	-8	3	8		7		

* The condition of the citizen orientation under which the parent orientation has a greater effect on the criterion variable in the low condition of the test variable (and vice-versa) is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 17 Effect of Citizen Orientation on Criterion Variable under Varying Conditions of Test Variable.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	3												
Age	-1	7	-23	-7	7	-17	11	9	-19	-4	16	4	5
Education	19	11	-17	-11	-10	36	-24	18	-22	3	8	-1	-3
No. of child.	-35	28	-14	-28	2	20	12	12	17	14	17	8	6
Lgth. of resid.	-8	-8	26	-19	-22	14	-12	-20	-29	15	-1	-2	11
Dir. partic.***	-29												
Efficacy	-11	-11	3	-30	-11	30	-8	-46	-23	-20	-12	-46	-5
Info. expos.	-41	-9	-18	-10	-23	15	-10	10	-30	-11	-6	-15	-14
Int., local	-18	-6	-24	-27	7	-7	-24	-16	6	-6	-10	-23	-4
Int., nonloc.	20	-14	-6	-27	15	-11	-11	-16	-5	-13	-7	-59	-26
Vote likelihood***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eval. of school	12	-13	8	-35	25	16	-36	-16	-42	5	-30	-30	7
Pride	3	-2	-8	-18	14	19	-8	-4	5	5	-21	-2	-24
Vote pref.***	0												
Econ. cond.	-2	0	2	-37	-22	-6	-9	19	-30	22	-16	-52	-15

* The condition of the test variable under which the effect of the citizen orientation is greater on the criterion variable, controlling for parent orientation, is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure. For example, the effect of the citizen orientation on total conversations is greater among the more educated. The tabled figure should be divided by two to obtain the average relationship.

** *Insufficient* data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 18 Parent Orientation Condition Under Which Citizen Orientation Affects Criterion Variable More in High Condition of Test Variable.*

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	-10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	14	-14	—	-6	-20	-5	19	8	—	-10	-10	-6	6
Education	-13	10	—	-2	—	34	—	-11	—	4	9	-11	-11
No. of child.	—	21	—	—	16	-17	-9	-9	-12	-8	-12	5	5
Lgth. of resid.	10	—	-18	—	—	12	—	—	—	-21	-10	-8	11
Dir. partic.***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Efficacy	—	—	18	—	5	± 15	-6	—	—	—	—	—	-19
Info. expos.	—	14	12	—	10	-10	4	7	—	—	-1	—	—
Int., local	—	8	—	—	16	1	—	—	13	-13	—	-1	-9
Int., nonloc.	-11	-10	—	—	-25	—	-1	-9	-8	—	-7	—	—
Vote likelihood***	-14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eval. of school	10	—	-7	—	33	±8	—	-11	—	17	—	—	-9
Pride	6	1	—	-1	16	-10	-4	-3	3	7	—	10	—
Vote pref.***	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Econ. cond.	-8	-15	—	—	—	—	4	-17	—	±11	-4	—	—

* The condition of the parent orientation under which the citizen orientation has a greater effect on the criterion variable in the high condition of the test variable (and vice-versa) is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 19 **Parent Orientation Condition Under Which Citizen Orientation Affects Criterion Variable More in Low Condition of Test Variable.***

Criterion Variable: / Test variable	Communicators	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical up	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex**	7							—			—		
Age	-15	7	-17	13	13	22	-8	—	19	14		2	-1
Education		—	-13	13	9	—	18	—	12	-1	-1	12	14
No. of child.	±19	—	-11	18	-14	—							
Lgth. of resid.	-18	-8	—	-18	13	—	10	-14	-24	6	11	10	—
Dir. partic.***	22					—							
Efficacy	-6	-8	-15	-21	-16	—	14	26	15	-18	±6	34	24
Info. expos.	-21	-23	-30	±5	-33		-14	-17	-28	11	7	-8	±7
Int., local	16	-14	14	-20	-9	-8	16	-11	-7	19	-10	24	13
Int., nonloc.		24	6	22	10	8	12	25	13	6	14	46	26
Vote likelihood***	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eval. of school		-13		-19	-8	—	36	29	30	-12	-24	20	2
Pride	-3	-3	±4	19	-2	—	12	7	—	-2	12	-12	16
Vote pref.***	-9												
Econ. cond.	10	15	-2	23	20	4	-13	—	16	—	20	37	-3

* The condition of the parent orientation under which the citizen orientation has a greater effect on the criterion variable in the low condition of the test variable (and vice-versa) is indicated by the sign of the tabled entry. The extent of the interaction is given by the figure.

** Insufficient data were available for analysis of triple interactions involving sex relative to the twelve dimensions of informal communication.

*** These test variables were not used in assessing the dimensions of informal communication.

Table C. 20 Relationship of Test Variable with Criterion Variable among School People.*

Criterion Variable: Test variable	Total Conversations	Topics	Conversants	R gives	R seeks	R is given	R is sought	Horizontal	Vertical down	Attempts	Successes
Sex	3	3	-5	-6	4	11	-6	3	-3	7	10
Age	-1	3	-3	-9	-2	-2	6	12	-9	-8	0
No. of child.	21	7	19	10	10	-2	2	-3	20	16	3
Lgth. of resid.	-3	7	3	-2	3	-10	3	-5	7	4	4
Efficacy	-2	6	-8	10	0	-23	8	-21	6	6	12
Info. expos.	23	18	9	2	-8	10	14	5	30	29	19
Int., local	8	6	18	16	-9	0	-2	-3	18	12	17
Int., nonloc.	4	6	-14	3	-9	2	3	-1	3	-5	8
Eval. of school	19	19	2	7	5	-7	18	18	8	19	12
Pride	7	10	6	5	4	2	8	17	1	-9	1
Econ. cond.	18	-1	19	-4	-2	5	10	7	13	-7	-19

* The extent of the relationship between the test variable and the criterion variable is tabled, along with the direction of the relationship (positive or negative).

APPENDIX D

Additional Tables

Table D.1 Ratio of Conversations to Communicators by Level and Aspect of Direction.*

Direction level/ Aspect of direction	No. of communicators of given level	No. of convers. to/at given level	Ratio
School people:			
vertical up	**	**	**
horizontal	151	271	1.79
vertical down	625	177	.28
Public school parents:			
vertical up	151	180	1.19
horizontal	496	1,038	2.09
vertical down	129	96	.74
Private school parents:			
vertical up	647	33	.05
horizontal	37	45	1.22
vertical down	92	10	.11
Preschool parents:			
vertical up	684	32	.05
horizontal	31	28	.90
vertical down	61	0	.00
Postschool parents:			
vertical up	715	26	.04
horizontal	31	32	1.03
vertical down	30	2	.07
Nonparents			
vertical up	746	26	.03
horizontal	30	25	.83
vertical down	**	**	**

*The tabled ratio adjusts the frequency of various aspects of direction in conversations (i.e., vertical up, horizontal, and vertical down) to the number of communicators of various levels "available" for conversation.

**By definition, school people could have no vertical up conversations and nonparents could have no vertical down conversations.

Table D. 2 Intercorrelation Matrix of Informal Communication Behaviors for Others (N=131). *

	Scope: topics 2	Scope conversants 3	Initiative: R gives 4	Initiative: R seeks 5	Initiative: R is given 6	Initiative: R is sought 7	Direction: horizontal 8	Direction: vertical upward 9	Direction: vertical downward 10	Influence: attempts 11	Influence: successes 12
1. Scope: total conv.	62	65	32	59	29	24	60	43	23	64	36
2. Scope: topics		54	29	35	22	02	47	23	12	47	29
3. Scope: conversants			15	35	30	14	49	31	13	33	21
4. Init.: R gives				-05	-31	-18	27	-01	06	44	49
5. Init.: R seeks					-09	-02	24	38	25	26	11
6. Init.: R is given						-27	20	22	-07	15	-08
7. Init.: R is sought							14	02	14	09	00
8. Direction: horiz.								-15	-14	35	12
9. Direction: vert., up									-15	14	08
10. Direction: vert., down										27	29
11. Influence: attempts											66

*Others consist of private school parents, preschool parents, postschool parents, and nonparents who are communicators. For correlations involving "vertical down", the sample size is 104.

Table D. 3 Intercorrelation Matrix of Informal Communication Behaviors for Low parent, low citizen group (N=114).

	Scope: topics 2	Scope: conversants 3	Initiative: R gives 4	Initiative: R seeks 5	Initiative: R is given 6	Initiative: R is sought 7	Direction: horizontal 8	Direction: vertical up 9	Direction: vertical down 10	Influence: attempts 11	Influence: successes 12
1. Scope: total conv.	51	70	52	39	32	44	89	13	11	62	46
2. Scope: topics		33	34	08	23	13	48	01	21	44	28
3. Scope: conversants			37	31	16	35	64	20	01	48	34
4. Init. : R gives				03	-28	-05	45	-04	19	48	57
5. Init. : R seeks					-13	02	37	12	-17	17	15
6. Init. : R is given						-11	30	03	17	09	-08
7. Init. : R is sought							36	15	-09	27	07
8. Direction: horizontal								-13	-11	59	42
9. Direction: vertical up									-01	00	-04
10. Direction: vertical down										10	-04
11. Influence: attempts											61

Table D. 4 Intercorrelation Matrix of Informal Communication Behaviors for Low Parent, High Citizen Group (N=122).

	Scope: topics 2	Scope: conversants 3	Initiative: R gives 4	Initiative: R seeks 5	Initiative: R is given 6	Initiative: R is sought 7	Direction: horizontal 8	Direction: vertical up 9	Direction: vertical down 10	Influence: attempts 11	Influence: successes 12
1. Scope: total conv.	50	74	30	67	35	48	92	30	23	67	52
2. Scope: topics		38	11	27	39	16	48	22	05	44	31
3. Scope: conversants			29	39	35	29	72	18	29	54	37
4. Init. : R gives				-07	-21	-16	26	06	19	43	47
5. Init. : R seeks					-10	27	59	27	08	45	37
6. Init. : R is given						-06	35	14	12	22	03
7. Init. : R is sought							48	03	-06	09	03
8. Direction: horizontal								05	08	57	44
9. Direction: vertical up									07	25	20
10. Direction: vertical down										26	16
11. Influence: attempts											73

Table D.5 Intercorrelation Matrix of Informal Communication Behaviors for High Parent, Low Citizen Group (N=105).

	Scope: topics 2	Scope: conversants 3	Initiative: R gives 4	Initiative: R seeks 5	Initiative: R is given 6	Initiative: R is sought 7	Direction: horizontal 8	Direction: vertical up 9	Direction: vert. down 10	Influence: attempts 11	Influence: successes 12
1. Scope: total conv.	65	80	53	60	44	58	89	29	20	74	53
2. Scope: topics		59	33	29	39	43	60	32	11	46	31
3. Scope: conversants			49	41	38	45	76	27	07	62	46
4. Init.: R gives				02	05	17	52	22	04	60	42
5. Init.: R seeks					05	16	52	11	10	40	26
6. Init.: R is given						-07	37	28	28	32	10
7. Init.: R is sought							53	04	05	36	36
8. Direction: horizontal								03	-04	67	49
9. Direction: vertical up									05	31	07
10. Direction: vert. down										22	08
11. Influence: attempts											72

Table D. 6 Intercorrelation Matrix of Informal Communication Behaviors for High Parent, High Citizen Group (N=157).

	Scope: topics 2	Scope: conversants 3	Initiative: R gives 4	Initiative: R seeks 5	Initiative: R is given 6	Initiative: R is sought 7	Direction: horizontal 8	Direction: vertical up 9	Direction: vert. down 10	Influence: attempts 11	Influence: successes 12
1. Scope: total conv.	55	52	56	48	38	31	85	35	13	77	60
2. Scope: topics		45	20	28	30	18	42	19	20	50	27
3. Scope: conversants			21	23	32	11	52	16	14	36	25
4. Init. : R gives				05	-19	-19	62	-06	01	66	62
5. Init. : R seeks					-10	02	32	24	05	29	20
6. Init. : R is given						03	31	26	05	20	05
7. Init. : R is sought							11	30	17	10	08
8. Direction: horizontal								-09	-06	68	60
9. Direction: vertical up									09	18	05
10. Direction: vert. down										10	05
11. Influence: attempts											77

Table D. 7 Intercorrelation Matrix of Informal Communication Behaviors for School People (N=152).

	Scope: topics 2	Scope: conversants 3	Initiative: R gives 4	Initiative: R seeks 5	Initiative: R is given 6	Initiative: R is sought 7	Direction: horizontal 8	Direction: vertical upward 9	Direction: vertical downward 10	Influence: attempts 11	Influence: successes 12
1. Scope: total conv.	74	77	52	44	42	54	77	*	54	64	39
2. Scope: topics		56	43	29	32	41	61	*	38	66	38
3. Scope: conversants			48	24	36	41	63	*	46	47	30
4. Init.: R gives				14	-07	-01	49	*	27	45	30
5. Init.: R seeks					-13	06	35	*	22	14	20
6. Init.: R is given						-07	38	*	14	28	01
7. Init.: R is sought							30	*	43	35	21
8. Direction: horiz.								*	-03	50	30
9. Direction: vert., up									*	*	*
10. Direction: vert., down										34	15
11. Influence: attempts											60

*By definition, school people could have no vertical, upward conversations.

Table D.8 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for Others (Unrotated).*

Behavior	1	2	3	4	5	h^2
	Loading on factor:					
1. Scope: total conversations	93	16	11	-06	-03	90
2. Scope: topics	76	11	-14	-04	-01	61
11. Influence: attempts	76	-33	-08	12	16	74
3. Scope: conversants	73	31	00	-15	04	65
8. Direction: horizontal	61	12	-35	-60	-05	87
5. Initiative: R seeks	55	22	48	18	-20	65
12. Influence: successes	55	-59	-06	27	08	73
4. Initiative: R gives	43	-64	-38	07	-34	86
9. Direction: vertical up	36	45	23	53	-42	85
10. Direction: vertical down	27	-37	53	14	60	86
6. Initiative: R is given	23	63	-41	18	54	93
7. Initiative: R is sought	13	-04	59	-62	-05	75
Percentage of variance accounted for:	42%	19%	15%	13%	11%	

*This is a principal components factor analysis of the correlation matrix reported in Table D.2. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined.

Table D.9 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for Low Parent, Low Citizen Group (Unrotated).*

Behavior	Loading on factor: 1	2	3	4	h^2
1. Scope: total conversations	93	17	12	00	92
8. Direction: horizontal	88	16	05	-33	91
11. Influence: attempts	78	-19	-02	04	65
3. Scope: conversatns	76	27	-01	12	66
12. Influence: successes	64	-39	-30	-03	65
4. Initiative: R gives	62	-59	-24	18	82
2. Scope: topics	61	-16	36	03	52
7. Initiative: R is sought	39	47	-12	27	46
5. Initiative: R seeks	36	37	-39	-21	46
6. Initiative: R is given	18	27	83	-28	86
10. Direction: vertical down	08	-42	57	42	68
9. Direction: vertical up	07	44	-02	75	75
Percentage of variance accounted for:	52%	18%	17%	13%	

*This is a principal components factor analysis of the correlation matrix reported in Table D.9. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined.

Table D.10. Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for Low Parent, High Citizen Group (Unrotated).*

	Loading on factor:				
Behavior	1	2	3	4	h^2
1. Scope: total conversations	96	-16	-06	-04	94
8. Direction: horizontal	88	-25	-10	-25	91
11. Influence: attempts	81	33	03	07	77
3. Scope: conversants	79	-06	11	-25	71
12. Influence: successes	66	48	-15	13	70
5. Initiative: R seeks	64	-21	-39	33	72
2. Scope: topics	60	-14	33	13	51
7. Initiative: R is sought	37	-60	-43	-17	71
4. Initiative: R gives	37	74	-16	-22	76
9. Direction: vertical up	33	04	18	80	77
6. Initiative: R is given	33	-30	83	-10	90
10. Direction: vertical down	27	34	27	-23	32
Percentage of variance accounted for:	54%	19%	15%	12%	

*This is a principal components factor analysis of the correlation matrix reported in Table D.4. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined

Table D.11 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for High Parent, Low Citizen Group (Unrotated).*

Behavior	Loading on factor: 1	2	3	h^2
1. Scope: total conversations	96	02	14	94
8. Direction: horizontal	89	-20	15	85
11. Influence: attempts	85	01	-21	76
3. Scope: conversants	85	00	02	73
2. Scope: topics	72	18	07	55
12. Influence: successes	65	-30	-23	56
4. Initiative: R gives	60	-14	-61	76
7. Initiative: R is sought	56	-40	20	51
5. Initiative: R seeks	52	-08	56	60
6. Initiative: R is given	42	71	08	69
9. Direction: vertical up	32	53	-38	53
10. Direction: vertical down	17	52	26	37
Percentage of variance accounted for:	68%	18%	14%	

*This is a principal components factor analysis of the correlation matrix reported in Table D.5. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined.

Table D.12 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for High Parent, High Citizen Group (Unrotated).*

	Loading on factor:				
Behavior	1	2	3	4	h^2
1. Scope: total conversations	95	13	04	-09	92
11. Influence: attempts	87	-18	08	08	81
8. Direction: horizontal	86	-21	-22	-07	84
12. Influence: successes	74	-36	15	13	71
2. Scope: topics	64	31	-09	08	52
4. Initiative: R gives	64	-62	10	15	83
3. Scope: conversants	60	25	-30	00	52
5. Initiative: R seeks	43	13	42	-60	73
6. Initiative: R is given	32	50	-70	03	84
9. Direction: vertical up	25	62	28	-24	58
7. Initiative: R is sought	20	53	39	21	52
10. Direction: vertical down	14	33	30	70	70
Percentage of variance accounted for:	53%	21%	14%	12%	

*This is a principal components factor analysis of the correlation matrix reported in Table D.6. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of ± .40 or higher are underlined.

Table D.13 Factor Structure of Informal Communication Behaviors for School People (Unrotated).*

	Loading on factor:				
Behavior	1	2	3	4	h^2
1. Scope: total conversations	95	-02	10	17	95
2. Scope: topics	83	-05	02	04	69
3. Scope: conversants	81	-09	14	15	71
8. Direction: horizontal	77	-36	-26	21	83
11. Influence: attempts	77	-02	-09	-44	80
4. Initiative: R gives	59	04	-47	-06	57
12. Influence: successes	53	19	-36	-52	72
10. Direction: vertical down	52	44	50	05	72
7. Initiative: R is sought	52	43	48	-10	70
5. Initiative: R seeks	39	34	-34	65	81
6. Initiative: R is given	36	-78	39	02	89
Percentage of variance accounted for:	64%	17%	16%	13%	

*This is a principal components factor analysis of the correlation matrix reported in Table D.7. Decimal points are omitted. Loadings of + .40 or higher are underlined.

Table D. 14 Distribution of Original Sample Members (o) and Referrals (x) in District A
(Locations of District Schools Are Indicated by the Symbol S)

			xx xxxxx	xxx	xxx	o xxxx	xx	
x		x		o	xx	o xxxx	x xxxxx	oo
oo xxx	xx	xxxx	xxx xxxxx xxxxx	o x	ooooo oo xxx	oooo S xx xxxxx	xx xxxxx	oooo xxxx
oo xxx xxxxx xxxxx	ooooo o S xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx	oo x xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx	ooooo ooooo o xxxxx	ooooo	oooo x		xxx	S xxx
ooooo o S xxx	oooo xxx xxxxx	oo x xxxxx xxxxx	ooooo S	oooo x	ooooo x		xxxx	
o	xxx			ooooo xx	ooooo xxx xxxxx xxxxx	oooo xxx		

Table D.15 Distribution of Original Sample Members (o) and Referrals (x) in District B
(Locations of District Schools Are Indicated by the Symbol S)

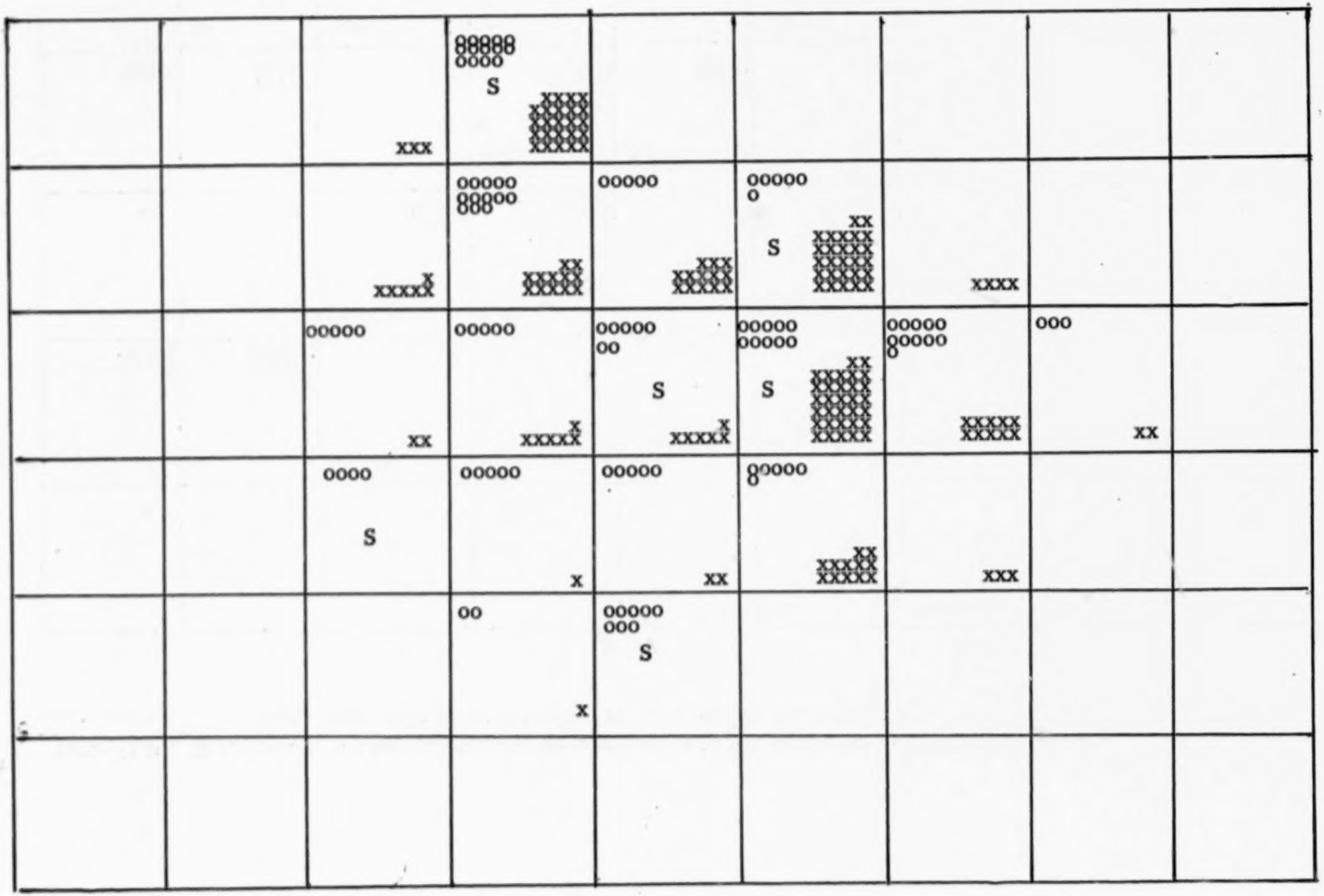

Table D. 16 Distribution of Original Sample Members (o) and Referrals (x) in District C
(Locations of District Schools Are Indicated by the Symbol S)

	S xx	x		x	oo	ooooo	o	
x xxxxx xxxxx	oo xx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx	xx	ooo S x	oooo xxx xxxxx	S	o	oooo x	
xx	oo xx	ooooo xxx xxxxxx	ooooo S x xxxxxx	ooooo xx	ooooo xxxx	o S xxx	oo x	
xxxx	o S xxxxx xxxxx	ooooo o S x	ooooo ooo S xx xxxxx	ooooo oo S xx xxxxx xxxxx	oo xxx	ooo xxxx	oo S xxx	
xxxxx	oo xxx	oooo x	o		oo x	o S x	oooo	
			x					

Table D. 17 Distribution of Original Sample Members (o) and Referrals (x) in District D
(Locations of District Schools Are Indicated by the Symbol S)

xxx	ooooo S xx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx	ooooo S xxx xxxxx	xx	S xx	ooo S	ooo S x xxxxx	S x	
oo x	ooooo S xxxx	oo S xxxxx	S x	S x	xx xxxxx	S xxx	S x	
ooooo	o x xxxxx	ooooo o xxxx xxxxx xxxxx	ooo xxxxx xxxxx	ooo xxx	o S xx xxxxx	o S xxxx	oooo S xx	
oooo xx	oo xxxx xxxxx	ooooo xxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx	oo S xx	xxxx xxxxx	S x xxxxx	ooooo xxxxx	ooo	
	xxxx xxxxx xxxxx	S xxxx xxxxx	ooooo oo xx	ooo	o S x	ooo S		
	xxx xxxxx	S xx	xx	xx	ooooo o x xxxxx xxxxx	oooo xxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx		

Table D.18 Distribution of Original Sample Members (o) and Referrals (x) in District E
(Location of District Schools Are Indicated by the Symbol S)

S xx	S, S	oo S	o x		o S xx	oo S xxxx xxxxx	ooooo xxx	
S, S x	ooooo	ooo S x xxxxx	S	o S xx	oo S xxx	ooo S xx	S xxxx	S x xxxxx
o xx	o S, S	oo S x	oo S xx	oo xxxx	o S	oooo xxxx	ooooo oo S, S xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx	oo xx
xxx	ooo S, S, S, S x xxxxx	ooo S xx xxxxx xxxxx	o S xxxx	S	o S xx	o S xxx	S, S xx xxxx	x
ooooo S, S, S, S xxxx xxxxx xxxxx	ooooo S, S xxxx xxxxx	oooo S xxxx			o S	oo		
x xxxxx	xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx							

Table D.19 Size of Informal Communication Nets in District A (Non-election Topics) by Time.*

						Time period:				
Size of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Two	5	14	13	8	7	9	9	7	7	
Three	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Four		2	1	4	4	4	3	3	3	
Five	2	1	1							
Six				1						
Seven		1								
...										
11		2								
.....										
21			1							
...										
40			1 1							
...										
76				1						
...										
90					1					
...										
99						1				
...										
108							1			
...										
115								1		
...										
119									1	
...										
124										1
Ave. size:	2.91	3.41	5.37	7.80	9.47	9.16	10.08	12.00	12.32	13.5

*Cell entries are the number of nets of a given size for a given time period. The average net size for a given time period is reported at the bottom of the table.

Table D.20 Size of Informal Communication Nets in District B (Non-election Topics) by Time.*

	Time period:								
Size of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Two	2	8	13	19	14	14	12	9	9
Three	2	3	4	4	7	7	6	6	5
Four					1			1	1
Five			1	2	2	3	3	3	2
Six	1	1				2	1	1	
Seven									1
Eight			1				1	1	1
Nine				1					1
10								1	
11					1	1	1	1	1
...									
17	1								
...									
21		1							
...									
23			1						
24				1					
25					1				
...									
30						1			
...									
36							1		
...									
41								1	
...									
82									1
Ave. size:	5.50	4.00	3.70	3.44	3.81	4.18	4.72	5.50	7.50

*Cell entries are the number of nets of a given size for a given time period. The average net size for a given time period is reported at the bottom of the table.

Table D.21 Size of Informal Communication Nets in District C (Non-election Topics) by Time.*

	Time period:						
Size of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Two	7	10	11	13	11	13	14
Three	2	5	5	4	3	3	3
Four			1		1	1	1
Five	1	1					
Six		1	1	2	2	1	
Seven							1
Eight				1		1	
Nine			2				1
...							
11				1			
12				1			
13					1		
...							
15						1	
16					1		
...							
19					1		
20							1
...							
39						1	
...							
41							1
Ave. size:	2.50	2.70	3.25	3.68	4.85	5.09	5.37

*Cell entries are the number of nets of a given size for a given time period. The average net size for a given time period is reported at the bottom of the table.

Table D.22 Size of Informal Communication Nets in District C (Election Topic) by Time.*

	Time period:						
Size of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Two	6	9	4	6	8	11	12
Three	1	2	6	2	2	2	2
Four	1		3	1			
Five	1	1	1	2	1		
Six					1	1	1
Seven	1	1				1	1
Eight				1			
...							
10				1			
11		1		1	1		
12					1	1	
13			1				1
14			1	1			
15				1			
...							
26					1	1	
27					1		1
...							
42						1	
...							
46							1
Ave. size:	3.40	3.36	4.38	5.62	6.80	6.73	6.78

*Cell entries are the number of nets of a given size for a given time period. The average net size for a given time period is reported at the bottom of the table.

Table D.23 Size of Informal Communication Nets in District D (Non-election Topics) by Time.*

	Time period:									
Size of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Two	5	7	5	6	10	12	11	12	10	13
Three	4	2	4	5	7	7	7	6	7	5
Four	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	1
Five					1		1	2	1	1
Six			1	1	1				1	1
Seven		1	2			3	2	2	2	2
Eight					1	1	2			
Nine				1		1		1	1	1
10							1			
11				1						
12								1	1	
13				1						1
14					1	1				
15							1	1		
...										
18									1	
...										
24								1		
...										
26									1	
...										
35					1					
...										
40						1				
...										
45							1			
...										
59								1		
...										
63									1	
...										
116										1
Ave. size:	2.60	3.00	3.60	4.28	4.44	5.48	5.52	6.75	7.34	8.00

*Cell entries are the number of nets of a given size for a given time period. The average net size for a given time period is reported at the bottom of the table.

Table D.24 Size of Informal Communication Nets in District E (Non-election Topics) by Time.*

	Time period:								
Size of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Two	9	8	10	11	12	10	7	8	5
Three	1	3	4	6	7	7	5	4	4
Four		2	2	2	2	4	3	2	3
Five	2	2			1	1	2	3	2
Six			1				1		
...									
Eight		2	1					2	
Nine									2
Ten			1						
11				2					
...									
15			1						
...									
23				1					
...									
25					2	1			
...									
27							1	1	1
...									
30						1			
...									
46							1		
...									
52								1	
...									
61									1
Ave. size:	2.68	3.47	3.95	4.22	4.50	4.88	6.50	6.95	8.33

*Cell entries are the number of nets of a given size for a given time period. The average net size for a given time period is reported at the bottom of the table.

Table D.25 Size of Informal Communication Nets in District E (Election Topic) by Time.*

	Time period:							
Size of net	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Two	5	11	19	23	25	23	23	20
Three	1	2			2	4	2	4
Four		2	3	4	4	4	6	5
Five		1	2	1	2	2	2	2
Six				1	1	1	2	3
Seven			1	1	1	2	2	2
Eight							1	
...								
18								1
Ave. size:	2.16	2.56	2.68	2.67	2.72	2.89	3.19	3.84